The Outlook

JUNE 14, 1916

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF THE WAR: KITCHENER OF KHARTUM

The death of no one man can vitally affect the issues of the vast conflict now going on in Europe. Neither Kaiser, Czar, nor King, neither Hindenburg nor Kitchener, has carried on his shoulders the single responsibility, nor, in all probability, is such a war as this to be settled by one man's genius. Earnestly as the British nation mourns Lord Kitchener's death and acclaims his fame and achievement, it will steadily continue (to use the British soldiers' favorite phrase) to "carry on." It has been one of the peculiar features of a democracy at war—for England is essentially a democracy—that such a great figure as Kitchener has been subject to bitter and persistent attack. How far he blundered and how far he had to assume the fault of others cannot here be discussed. It certainly became evident that even for his stalwart body and ever-working brain too many responsibilities, or too many kinds of responsibilities, had been put upon one man, and that error was remedied by a distribution of functions. To-day fault-finding has been forgotten in the nation's recognition of the immensity of Great Britain's obligation to her warrior dead at the post of duty.

Lord Kitchener was on his way to Russia to consult with the Russian war leaders as to munitions and war plans. His vessel, the Hampshire, an old-type cruiser of little war value, was blown to pieces either by a torpedo or a mine—probably the latter. Whether the ship was attacked by Germans, or even whether the mine was a German mine, is uncertain as we write. The right to attack such a war-ship by submarine or by a mine laid in its course is beyond question, although there are important restrictions in international law about the use of mines in the high seas. One consequence of this disaster may be a fuller discussion and disclosure of fact about the use and abuse of mines—each side now charges the other with violations of law, but the nature of mines and mine-laying is such that it is extremely difficult to prove charges made. The Hampshire went down, almost instantly, at eight o'clock on the night of June 5, off the Orkney Islands (see map on page 335). Not a man is known to have been saved; observers assert that four boats left the ship, but the waves were rough, and up to noon of June 7 only a few bodies and a broken boat were found. Officers and crew are said to have numbered between three and four hundred—a small complement for a ship of the Hampshire's class. With Lord Kitchener were lost his staff, including Hugh James O'Beirne, former counselor of the British Embassy at Petrograd and at one time Minister to Bulgaria; Major Oswald Arthur Gerald Fitzgerald, Lord Kitchener's military secretary and former military attaché in Egypt; Brigadier-General Arthur Ellershaw; Sir Hay Frederick Donaldson, one of the greatest munitions experts in the United Kingdom; and others.

KITCHENER'S SERVICE TO ENGLAND

Kitchener's great achievement in this war was so important, so impossible of execution by any one else, so surprising to the world in its extent and success, that it must not for a second be dimmed by talking about minor matters. Kitchener's Army! By volunteering only, Great Britain enrolled five million men! "For King and Kitchener" was one of the mottoes. "Kitchener's Mob" was the familiar name the men of the first army applied to themselves. With all loyal respect to the King, Englishmen know and say that Kitchener's name was the strongest possible rallying cry. King George put a simple fact clearly when he said in his general orders to the army after the disaster:

> Field Marshal Lord Kitchener gave forty-five years of distinguished service to the state, and it was largely due to his administrative genius and unwearying energy that the country was able to create and place in the field the

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armies which to-day are upholding the traditional glories of our Empire.

We can here only name, not describe, Kitchener's earlier services to his country in India, in the Sudan, in Egypt, and in South Africa. Elsewhere we print an estimate of their value to civilization from a tribute to Kitchener by Theodore Roosevelt.

Personally, Lord Kitchener was stern, indomitable, tireless. He cared nothing for display, he had no mercy on shirkers or incapables; he was dogged and unflinching. His two favorite amusements, some one says, were work and more work. The story is told that at the outbreak of this war, when he entered the War Office to take charge as Secretary of War, he curtly asked, "Is there a bed here?" and, learning there was not, he said, "Well, bring one." For weeks, the story adds, he stuck to his work there, never leaving the office.

Sir William Robertson, who will probably succeed Lord Kitchener, is a fine soldier of somewhat the same type; he rose from the ranks, and it is said that he started life as a servant.

THE BATTLE OF THE NORTH SEA

Although the long-predicted naval battle between the "grand fleets" of Great Britain and Germany took place on Wednesday, May 31, there was not up to June 7 any yielding by either of the nations involved of its claims as to the destruction of certain enemy war-ships the loss of which the other nation denies. One reason for the persistency with which these claims are made is that probably sailors and officers of attacking ships have honestly believed that they saw these enemy ships in a sinking and desperate condition. For instance, there is no doubt that the great British dreadnought the Warspite is perfectly safe in harbor; and yet even to the date named, June 7, German sailors and officers insist that she was mortally wounded. She was, in fact, disabled by the loss of her steering gear after making one of the most tremendous fights ever made by a war-ship, but she was not put out of action, and she retired safely with the rest of the British fleet. So, too, British authorities have insisted that two German battle-ships (one was said to be the new and superb ship named after General von Hindenburg) and the fine German cruiser Seydlitz were destroyed, and it is at least possible that these claims also became current in the same mistaken way.

Ignoring the losses not admitted officially, the British loss in tonnage is 114,100 tons; the admitted German loss 32,515 tons, although it should be added that the British claim that the Germans lost in addition a tonnage of 80,920. Among the British war-ships admittedly lost were three battle-cruisers (Queen Mary, Indefatigable, and Invincible) and the armored cruiser Warrior, while the Germans admit the loss of the battle-ship Pommern and two protected cruisers. Each side lost at least half a dozen, and probably more, destroyers, although here again the number is still in dispute.

The British, as we write, still claim that the German accounts of losses are absurdly low, and that altogether Germany lost eighteen ships, big and little. Probably the exact truth as to the precise number and naval caliber of the losses will only slowly become adjusted, and the precise number may not be known until the close of the war. Admiral Hood of the British navy went down with his flagship, the Invincible. The total number of lives lost in the battle is unknown—the English say the Germans lost 7,000; the Germans say the English lost 6,000.

THE EVENTS OF THE FIGHT

This vast clash between the main sea forces of the two nations began in what the Germans call a special "enterprise." This, it soon became evident, was an attempt by the German fleet to force into battle certain divisions of the British navy which the German Admiralty believed were near the south coast of Norway. German accounts say that their vessels first sighted the British war-ships at four o'clock on May 31, about seventy miles off the Skagerrak (see map). These were undoubtedly small scouting vessels, which at once communicated to the British admirals in command of the main fleet the presence of the enemy in force. It is believed that the station of the big British ships was at, or near, the Orkney Islands.

Instantly every available British ship, big and little, was despatched to the scene of battle. In such a battle the scout ships and destroyers form the first or skirmish line. Falling back, as was right and necessary, this first line was soon reinforced by the British battle-cruiser line, with Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty in command. Admiral Beatty has a fine reputation as a brave fighter. The instant he saw the enemy ships he attacked them,

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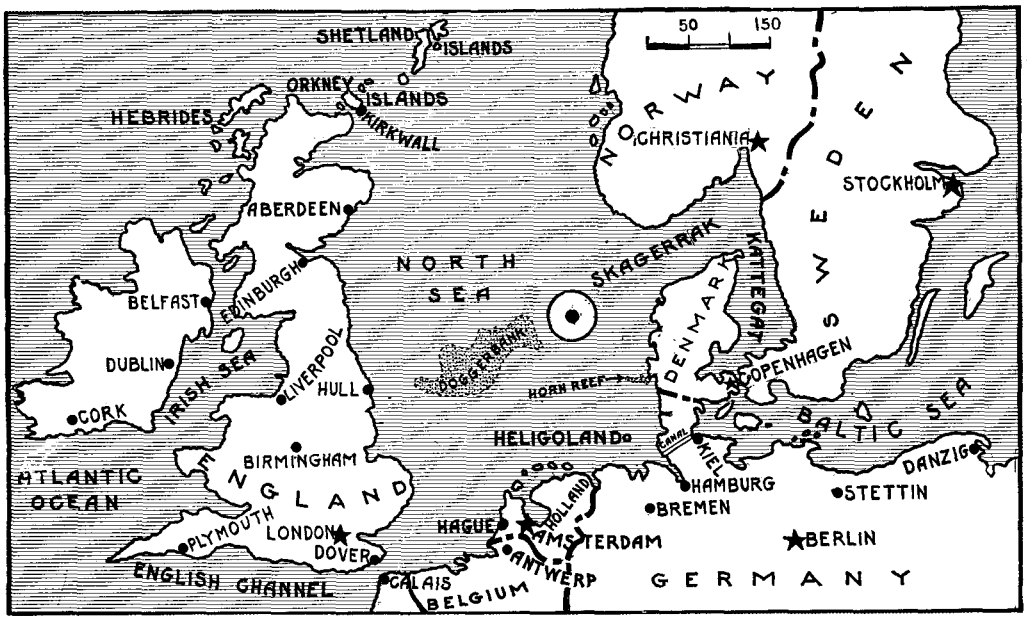

THE SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF THE NORTH SEA

The circle in the North Sea shows the location in which the fleets met and fought off the coast of Jutland, Denmark. Off the Orkney Islands, north of Scotland, Lord Kitchener met his death in the ship Hampshire

and the fight which followed immediately was of tremendous violence, even although the ships in such a modern naval engagement are firing at an enemy often six or eight miles distant. Whether Admiral Beatty was justified in this attack by professional and strategic reason or not remains to be seen. Of the courage and audacity of his assault there can be no question. It was in the first part of the great battle that much of the British loss and injury was sustained. But within an hour the third battle-line of the British ships, including great dreadnoughts like the Warspite, came into action, and before long the Germans, probably then fighting against a superior force as to numbers and power, retreated to their refuge, leaving the British fleet in possession of the field of action. A retired British admiral sums up the result thus: "The Germans with their whole fleet engaged a portion of the British fleet and made for home as soon as the British dreadnoughts appeared on the scene."

A striking view of the earlier part of the battle is given in a letter written by Admiral Beatty, in which he says:

We drew the enemy into the jaws of our fleet. I have no regrets except for the gallant lives lost, for the pals that have gone and who died gloriously. It would have warmed your heart to have seen how the gallant Hood brought his squadron into action. Would to God we had been more successful in the general result!

We will be ready for them next time. Please God it will soon come! The battle cruiser fleet is alive and has a big kick in her.

A THRILLING BATTLE INCIDENT

No episode of the fight was more thrilling or spectacular than the attempted rescue of the British battle-cruiser Warrior by the dreadnought Warspite, as described by an officer of the Warrior. The cruiser, after putting one or more of the German cruisers out of action, had been battered and terribly injured and was expecting the shells that would finish it, when "the Warspite appeared and passed between us and the enemy, engaging the foremost battle-cruiser with deadly effect." The story proceeds:

The first shot from the Warspite lopped off the foremast of the leading enemy cruiser. The next overturned both the fore gun turrets, and in five minutes the enemy vessel was ablaze from end to end, enveloped in a cloud of dense smoke. The second battle-cruiser, which had been concentrating her fire on the Warspite, turned to starboard, smoke belching from her funnels, and endeavored to pick up her main squadron. But it was not to be. Two shells from the Warspite blew every funnel she had to pieces. The third made a great rent in her

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stern. The fourth plowed up her deck and burst against the foremast, bringing it down.

Two minutes afterward this vessel also was on fire and heeling over, with the Warspite still pounding her and ripping great gashes in her starboard side and bottom. The last we saw of her was nothing more than a broken hulk. The Warrior was towed for ten hours and then sank.

Elsewhere we discuss editorially the result and suggestion of the Battle of the North Sea.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR ON LAND

Public attention has naturally been so centered on the death of General Kitchener and his staff and on the naval battle in the North Sea that comparatively few people have recognized the importance and significance of the despatches about the new Russian offensive. This appears to have begun about June 4. The advance stretched over a large front, reaching from a point some distance south of the Russian city of Pinsk down to near the point where the border lines of Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Rumania meet. There is every indication that this movement is a serious one and that much may be expected from it by the Allies if the initial success is continued. The reports from Petrograd assert that in the very first few days of the new drive the Russians took forty thousand Austrian prisoners, including several hundred officers, and that the fighting was still developing. Even reports from Austria recognize that this attack in the Bukowina region is "the most ferocious onslaught launched by the Russians since the war began."

One object of this offensive may be to counteract the Austrian activity in the Trentino, and possibly to draw off Austrian forces from that vicinity, where, during the week under discussion, the situation has not materially changed from that described last week. But this is probably only incidental, for the likelihood is that, now the roads have become at least passable, Russia has put into operation a long-planned offensive which may very likely prove one of the large and sweeping movements of the war.

Nothing of serious import occurred during the week at Verdun, although the fighting was very violent, especially in the neighborhood of Fort Vaux, which, as most of our readers know, guards one side of the approach to Verdun from the northeast, as the Douaumont position guards the other side of that approach. The French report that the slaughter of Germans here was frightful and that the Germans sacrificed their men in great masses in fruitless struggles to take the position.

The food question continues to agitate Germany. A despatch from Berlin says that the new food "dictator," Herr von Batocki, has told the people that there will be very little meat for the next eight weeks, but that after the new harvest comes in and the cattle are fattened the situation will be relieved. There is no question that in meat, butter, and milk particularly, the German people are reduced to extremely slender resources. In this connection the fact may be reported that the Swiss Government has seized large quantities of foodstuffs in Switzerland under the charge that foreign agents (probably chiefly German) had purchased the foodstuffs for export from Switzerland and that ensuing speculation had caused real suffering by the Swiss people because of abnormal prices.

In an address before the German Reichstag the Imperial Chancellor again referred to the peace question. He declared: "We did what we could to pave the way to peace, but our enemies repelled us with scorn. Consequently all further talk of peace initiated by us becomes futile and evil."

GENERAL GALLIENI

The spirit of the French nation in the present war has just found striking expression at the last honors paid to General Gallieni, late Governor of Paris and Minister of War. Among the thousands of burials since the war's outbreak General Gallieni's was the first great state funeral for a high officer. During the preceding day no less than eighty thousand had passed the coffin, placed upon the porch of the Church of St. Louis at the great military hospital of Les Invalides in Paris. Many classes of people were there —Government officials, prominent citizens, army officers, wounded soldiers, scouts, privates, men on leave wearing war-worn uniforms, Belgian, English, Russian, and Servian soldiers, and very many workingmen, women, and school-boys.

A familiar sight to all visitors to Paris is the gilded dome of Les Invalides, and on the morning of the funeral an aeroplane encircled it, dropping bouquets of lilies-of-the-

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valley tied by ribbons on which was printed: "Homage to Kluck's conqueror." By this title General Gallieni will doubtless be known in history, for he it was who saved Paris by sending his troops from the city to the Ourcq and the Marne. They checked General von Kluck's hitherto victorious advance. It was not surprising, then, that the proud drivers of the taxicabs which, on September 7, 1914, had quickly carried the forces to the Ourcq, thus enabling the French to turn the German tide, had petitioned the Government to be allowed to participate in the procession. Their machines, draped with crape, followed the coffin.

In the chapel, where Cardinal Amette conducted the services, eight flags captured from the Germans—one coming from the Ourcq—were displayed. As is customary at notable French funerals, there were orations. The Commander-in-Chief, General Joffre, eulogized General Gallieni as the great victim of the war, relating how, when last summer grave illness attacked Gallieni and a slight operation and a rest would have saved him, he refused to leave his work, and told friends who counseled him to take a vacation that "a chief must set an example in war time and go *jusqu'au bout*"—to the very end.

All France has now taken up the watchword "*Jusqu'au bout.*" In his oration General Roques, Gallieni's successor as Minister of War, used it with telling effect. He justly recalled Gallieni's career, especially in Madagascar, as that of a founder of the French empire beyond the seas. He also recalled the death of Gallieni's wife during the week of French mobilization. The speaker then eulogized the defense of Paris, and, of course, the sending of troops to the Ourcq, though the governor of any fortress would naturally be tempted to retain forces for its immediate protection. General Roques closed his speech with this tribute to his predecessor:

> It is not only the people of Paris who salute you. It is every house, every monument on the banks of the Seine and on the hills of the suburbs, which owes its existence to you. Our history and our every hope we owe to you. We bow before you.
>
> *Mon Général, mon maître!* Sleep in your glory. Your task is finished. Ours is not.
>
> You ask to be honored by action. The people of France, who admire and love you, are under a mandate to save civilization and liberty, and they will, like you, fulfill that mandate, *jusqu'au bout.*

IN DEFENSE OF PROFESSOR APPELMANN

Several weeks ago The Outlook, under the title "An Invitation to Sedition," gave an account of a letter received by Professor Appelmann, of the University of Vermont, from Dr. Paul Rohrbach, a German publicist and theologian. This letter seemed to The Outlook at the time, and still seems, to be in substance an intolerable affront to Americans in its suggestion that "in the event of an American-Japanese war we [that is, Germany] should adopt an attitude of very benevolent neutrality towards Japan and thereby make it easier for her to beat America," and that, therefore, Germans ought naturally to be opposed to military preparedness on the part of America. Inquiry by The Outlook from Professor Appelmann did not bring out a denial as to the authenticity of the letter nor any illumination as to the questions asked by Professor Appelmann of Dr. Rohrbach. We carefully abstained from making any severe criticism on Professor Appelmann. Now we receive, and print below, a letter from the President of the University of Vermont, with which Professor Appelmann is connected, which does throw some light on the circumstances that called out Dr. Rohrbach's letter, and, in particular, defends Professor Appelmann from criticism:

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The editorial in question published a letter which I know to be authentic from Dr. Paul Rohrbach, a scholar and private citizen of Berlin, sent in reply to one from Dr. Applemann, of the chair of German in the University of Vermont, with the comment "that a professor in an American college should invite such advice from a foreign source calls for the gravest consideration." If a letter had been written from some one in the United States to an official of the Imperial German Government requesting instructions as to his conduct in this country, such action should call "for the gravest consideration." On the other hand, it will hardly be denied that a peaceful German sojourner in the United States is entitled to the privilege of writing a letter of unofficial friendship to an intimate associate of other years residing in Berlin. Furthermore, it will not be questioned that current happenings of interest to both countries might be discussed informally in such a letter without violation of the proprieties, and if the reply coming from the other side should contain certain expressions of individual opinion, the recipient of the letter could not be justly held responsible for such expressions.

From personal knowledge I am able to testify

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that the two outstanding subjects in the letter of Dr. Appelmann, addressed on the 8th of December last to Dr. Rohrbach, were the Ford Peace Mission and Preparedness. In writing on the first topic, urgency was laid upon the importance of giving Mr. Ford and his friends a sympathetic hearing in Germany, with the expressed hope that peace might thereby be hastened. Concerning preparedness, the writer asked his friend the entirely commendable question whether he did not think German-Americans would be justly censurable if they failed to give cordial support to the programme then proposed by President Wilson. The answers of Dr. Rohrbach to these questions are statements of his own private opinion, and they should reflect no discredit on the high-minded man to whom they were addressed.

Dr. Appelmann is in his fourth year of service as a Professor of German in the University of Vermont. He is a scholarly investigator, an inspiring and popular teacher, and a gentleman of refinement and character. He is inoffensively devoting himself with painstaking zeal to his studies, his teaching, and his writings. He has not uttered one word, in the presence of his students or before the larger public, that could be questioned by any right-minded citizen. If the Trustees of the University of Vermont become convinced that their Professor of German has proved recreant to his trust, corrective action will be promptly taken. Meanwhile, in the American spirit of fair play, I feel warranted in asking that this man of unusual ability, of proved efficiency, and of apparent sincerity be given the benefit of doubts which are altogether in his favor. GUY POTTER BENTON.

Office of the President, University of Vermont,
Burlington, Vermont.

We are glad to print President Benton's letter, not only in the spirit of fair play, but because it establishes the authenticity of Dr. Rohrbach's letter to Professor Appelmann. Certainly Professor Appelmann ought not to be condemned for Dr. Rohrbach's sins. But we still think that the correspondence between the two is remarkably significant of the false position of some German-Americans. Moreover, it throws light on that aspect of German psychology which assumes, we believe correctly, that the present world crisis may be expressed in the phrase "Germany against the World."

THE STRONG MAN OF CHINA

The death of Yuan Shi-kai, President of the Chinese Republic, is announced. The son of a district governor, Yuan Shi-kai was born in the central Province of Honan. He, too, aspired to official distinction. Going to Korea as a minor secretary, he rose rapidly through his display of diplomatic ability until finally he became Chinese Resident in Korea, a position which he occupied for nine years.

Korea was a bone of contention. China, Russia, and Japan each wanted it. Hence Seoul, the Korean capital, was the center of diplomatic intrigue and activity. Yuan Shi-kai was soon dubbed by his diplomatic colleagues the "Mayor of the Palace." In him the Japanese found a foe worthy of their steel. Urbane, acute, and able, he soon became the most influential figure in Seoul, and the Chinese claim of suzerainty over Korea was no longer *de jure*, but really became *de facto*. By the war of 1894–5, however, Japan accomplished by force of arms what she had failed to accomplish by diplomacy. Yuan took part in some of the minor battles, and after the war was made commander of one branch of the Chinese forces newly organized under German drill instructors. He rapidly brought his seven thousand raw recruits to a state of high efficiency and became the real head of the army.

In 1898 the so-called "reform party" proposed to the Emperor certain radical schemes which to their minds would make China strong in a day. These innovations were viewed with consternation by the Government, for they would have turned the Empire upside down had they been undertaken in the totality and with the rapidity demanded by the reform party. Yuan, however much in secret sympathy with some of the projects, not only deprecated haste, but actually aided the Empress Dowager to wrest the Imperial power from the puppet Emperor. Perhaps as a reward, Yuan was appointed the next year Governor of the Province of Shantung.

Yet in the Boxer trouble of 1900 he distinguished himself by changing the words of the Dowager's edict from "to destroy" to "to protect" and suppressed the Boxer elements under his jurisdiction. A story is related of the ruse he adopted at Chinanfu, the capital of Shantung. His fame as the creator of the modern Chinese army had preceded him, but it seems that he had with him only two hundred soldiers on whom he could entirely depend. Every day he would get his men together and with much beating of drums and blowing of trumpets and

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Sykes in the Philadelphia Evening Ledger

Kirby in the New York World

HISTORY MAY BE AGHAST AT VERDUN, BUT FRANCE IS UNDAUNTED

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle

WIRE-TAPPING

Cesare in the New York Sun

WHERE THE BIG STICK IS POWERLESS

THE REPUBLICAN SITUATION—TWO PRE-CONVENTION VIEWS

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Belcher in the Tatler (*London*)

THE STRATEGISTS

"They tell me there's thousands of Germans in London now; 'ow did they get over 'ere?"

"I suppose they must 'ave come over in boats."

Owen in the Sketch (*London*)

SOME GUNS!

Tom: "They say them German guns carry twenty miles."

Jerry: "That's nothin'. Our big 'uns simply ask, 'Wot address?'"

From the Bystander (*London*)

MUNITIONS

"I want to leave nex' week, mum'; I'm a-goin' to work on munitions."

"Well, Mary, if you drop things there as often as you've done here, you won't be long in your new place."

HUMORS OF THE WAR AS ENGLISH CARTOONISTS SEE THEM

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firing of blank cartridges would drill them. The action had the desired effect, for it was soon noised abroad that the new Governor had thousands of troops ready to quell any disturbance.

In 1901 Yuan became Viceroy of the metropolitan Province of Chili, and gave to his country an insight of what one official could do in the direction of efficient government. Yuan's influence as Viceroy over the Empress Dowager, who was the real ruler of China, finally convinced her that China needed a Constitution, and she granted one. But such reform came too late to save the Manchu monarchy. In the revolution of 1911 it fell, and there arose a Chinese Republic whose President was Yuan Shi-kai himself.

Yuan's later history is well known. Whether any one can democratically rule China as President of a Republic, as we understand those words, is open to question. At all events, Yuan found that he could not. The people who had come to Peking, elected to the newly established Parliament, turned that Parliament into ridicule. Yuan dissolved it. He became practically dictator. Foreign critics continued indulgent in their criticisms of him, however, until the moment when he revealed an ambition to change the Republic back into an Empire and to become Emperor. Even then many well-wishers of China did not lose entire confidence in Yuan, believing that he had gauged Chinese feeling more accurately than it was possible to do from the outside, and that he was still showing himself "the strong man." But he was not strong enough to solve the problem of a new and increasingly victorious revolution. That could be best solved by his disappearance.

And so, perhaps suddenly done to death by his enemies, Yuan disappears. Whatever estimate one may have of him, progressives and reactionaries alike must, we believe, unite in the judgment that he was one of the most remarkable constructive statesmen ever produced in the Far East, and that, whatever other qualities he may have lacked, he certainly merited the adjective "strong."

JUSTICE BRANDEIS

The long and painful Brandeis case is now over, and Mr. Brandeis has not only become Justice, but has received justice. We do not need to enter into the details of the contest. It was carefully and thoroughly reviewed by Mr. William Hard in The Outlook of May 31. Mr. Brandeis was nominated to the Supreme bench by President Wilson on January 28. Opposition to him immediately developed, and for many weeks complaints against the appointment and testimony against the fitness of the candidate were received. No judicial appointment for many years has aroused more violent antagonism. During all this trying period Mr. Brandeis conducted himself with dignity and reserve. That the testimony in his behalf, to which little publicity was given, outweighed that against him, which received the widest publicity, is indicated by the vote of confirmation, which was 47 to 22. One of the strongest letters received in his behalf was that written by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, who said that his defeat on account of the forces at work against him would be a disaster to the country.

Justice Brandeis is sixty years old, was born in Kentucky, and was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1877. He is a lawyer of National distinction and has been eminently successful in corporation, industrial, and financial law, but has perhaps made his greatest reputation by his philanthropic and legal achievements in behalf of better conditions for American working men and women.

The ceremonies connected with the seating of a new Justice on the Supreme bench are simple and impressive. This official ceremony in Mr. Brandeis's case took place on Monday, June 5. The oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States was administered first by the Chief Justice in the presence only of the other members of the Court. Then the members, with Mr. Brandeis, went into the court-room, which was crowded with spectators, and there the following judicial oath was sworn to by Mr. Brandeis:

> I, Louis D. Brandeis, do solemnly swear that I will administer justice without respect to persons, and do equal right to the poor and to the rich; that I will faithfully and impartially discharge and perform all the duties incumbent upon me as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States according to the best of my abilities and understanding.

Thus happily ends one of the dramatic episodes in the history of the Supreme Court. Justice Brandeis will bring, we believe, to his new duties a distinguished legal equipment and a deep human understanding. And he himself is to be congratulated on achieving one of the highest positions open to Ameri-

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can citizens. For, as Lord Reading, Chief Justice of England, said in a cablegram on the day of the confirmation of Justice Brandeis: "Membership of the Supreme Court of the United States is one of the greatest distinctions known in the legal world, and I heartily congratulate the new Associate Justice."

MAYOR MITCHEL SUSTAINED

The conflict between Mayor Mitchel, of the city of New York, and certain ecclesiastical and political influences which are trying to thwart his reform of some of the charitable institutions in the city of New York is of more than local interest. We have reported the facts from time to time, but a decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, which has just been rendered and which sustains the Mayor in an important particular, makes a brief review of the conflict pertinent.

When Mayor Mitchel was Commissioner of Accounts, and later President of the Board of Aldermen in previous administrations, he found conditions prevailing in the public and private child-caring institutions within the jurisdiction of New York City so bad that he determined to do all he could to improve them. His election as Mayor gave him his opportunity. He appointed as Commissioner of Charities Mr. John A. Kingsbury, a man untouched by political partisanship or sectarian prejudice, who had made for himself a National reputation as a humane, high-principled, and efficient manager of organized charitable work. Mayor Mitchel and Mr. Kingsbury began their reform at once. In the public institutions they were met by political opposition. In the private institutions, which receive money from the city for the care of children committed to their charge and which therefore are compelled to submit to examination and to maintain certain standards, they met with ecclesiastical opposition—at first insidious, and then open. The child-caring institutions concerned were connected with the churches of the Catholic, the Jewish, and the Protestant faiths. The Jewish organizations, on the whole, met the Mayor in good faith. We regret to say, however, that some of the Protestant and all of the Catholic organizations bitterly fought him. This was due partly to the fact that they were afraid of having their money payments from the city cut off, and partly from the fact that all organizations of men, whether religious, political, legal, financial, or commercial, are more or less clannish. When one member of the clan is attacked, the others instinctively rush to his defense. The Mayor is a Roman Catholic, but this did not deter him from speaking plainly to the Catholic ecclesiastics who were interfering with the reform.

The decision of the Appellate Division directly sustained Commissioner Kingsbury (and thus indirectly his superior, Mayor Mitchel) in his dismissal of Mrs. Dunphy as superintendent of Randall's Island. Randall's Island is a city asylum for children. Certain influences in the State Board of Charities, for political or sectarian reasons, endeavored to secure a dismissal of the charges against Mrs. Dunphy, who was a Catholic. In an official statement the Mayor speaks of this case as follows:

> This decision of the Appellate Division will now make it possible for us to proceed to improve the conditions affecting the welfare of the two thousand helpless children on Randall's Island—conditions which had been permitted to grow up through twenty-five years of neglect, indifference, and administrative inefficiency.
>
> This action of the Appellate Division adds a legal to the moral justification for the action taken by the Department of Charities in removing Mrs. Dunphy, which brought down upon those who participated in it constant abuse and criticism, obstruction, and misrepresentation from those who had a personal interest in Mrs. Dunphy's retention. The Dunphy case has been one of the forces behind the repeated attacks which have been made on the administration of the Department of Charities.

In stating his attitude in this conflict Mayor Mitchel has expressed himself in the following epigrammatic terms: "I believe that the Government should keep its hands off the altar of the Church, but I just as deeply believe that the Church should keep its hands off the altar of the Government."

There could not be a better expression of the doctrine of the separation of the Church and the State, which lies at the very basis of American institutions. Cavour, the great Italian patriot, had a similar conflict with the ecclesiastics of his time. He died a devout Catholic, although the feeling against him on the part of some of his ecclesiastical opponents was so great that for a time he was threatened with a denial of the last rites of the Church. His last words were, *Libera chiesa in libero stato*, a free church in a free state. The Church cannot be free which endeavors, by libel, by

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abuse and criticism, and by interfering with the regular processes of law, to prevent an officer of the law from doing his duty. There are certain Protestants as well as certain Catholics in New York City who ought to bear this in mind.

A MOTOR-CYCLE MACHINE-GUN CARRIER

An interesting photograph will be found in our picture section of a new kind of motor-cycle machine-gun carrier which is being manufactured in Springfield, Massachusetts, and is being tested for use in the United States Army at the School of Musketry, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. While the critics of the military authorities have been busy pushing their pens, the Ordnance Department of the army has been occupied with perfecting and inventing instruments of war. The motor-cycle machine-gun carrier is one of the more important experiments commanding the attention of the department at present.

Motor-cycle tri-cars have been used for carrying machine guns in the past, and certain models are now giving service in the armies of Europe. The special feature which is being developed for the American designs is the use of steel plates to protect the body of the machine gun.

The first designs for a motor-cycle machine-gun carrier which should meet with certain conditions, such as being adequately shielded, carrying a certain amount of ammunition, having a certain degree of mobility, were worked out by the officers of the Springfield Armory, Ordnance Department United States Army, last October.

The Springfield Armory also designed and manufactured a mount, using for the purpose a side car procured from one of these manufacturers. Another is being worked out by a Springfield motor-cycle company. Colonel W. S. Peirce is directing the construction of the machine at the armory and advising those who are making the second model.

Colonel Peirce explained the need for the development of two different types when he was interviewed for The Outlook. "We decided to develop two different types of carriers," he said, "because there are various conditions to be complied with, and it is difficult to determine in advance what features will be preferable. We expect to test the two models thoroughly, and probably neither will prove entirely satisfactory. I expect that after we have seen the practical advantages of these two makes a third car will be constructed which will embody the good points of each.

"We are limited by practical and opposing conditions. We want a car that will be well protected and carry a large amount of ammunition; but, on the other hand, the chassis will not stand over five hundred pounds weight and we must be able to make a fair speed. The armory model at first would have put more than five hundred pounds on the chassis; but we gradually cut down the load until we got well within the required weight.

"The advantages of the armory model are that it carries more ammunition than the other local type, and the gun is carried nearer the ground. It is less comfortable for the rider because it gives more space for the ammunition. You see we have to work within given conditions and take our choice of comparative values. It is to test out those values practically that we decided to make the two types.

"The second model carries less ammunition than the armory design. It allows more room for the rider. It is also arranged so that it can be more easily fired when in motion, aiming either forward or to the rear. The side car of this model is detachable, carrying a fourth wheel, which can be let down when the carrier is detached, thus making it possible for use as a gun mount which could be readily wheeled about.

"No one can say authoritatively at present, however, what features are more valuable. Field tests will determine that; and in a short time the two machines will be ready for the try-outs."

BUSINESS MEN FOR PREPAREDNESS

American business men favor preparedness against war. That is shown pretty conclusively by the recent referendum of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

The referendum was divided into ten recommendations by the committee in charge to facilitate balloting. All ten recommendations were carried, the vote ranging in rate from 15 to 1 to 120 to 1. Forty-three States were represented in the balloting, as well as the District of Columbia, Hawaii, the Philippines, and the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris.

The business men of the country are evidently keenly interested in this question,

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for it brought out the biggest vote ever recorded from the commercial organizations which make up the National Chamber of Commerce. Of the ten propositions submitted, the heaviest majority was in favor of general preparedness—military and industrial—the vote being 970 in favor to 8 opposed. The smallest majority was on the question of universal military training, but even here the vote was 889 for and only 56 against. The vote for a Council of National Defense, to include business men and other civilians, as an intervening body to co-ordinate the acts of the President and Congress in regard to National defense, was 912 to 46. The vote to restore our navy to second place among the navies of the world was 952 to 10. The referendum declares that there shall be no Munitions Trust and no possibility of arrangements which would put the country at the mercy of any private-profit interest in war. But a vote of 940 to 26 was cast for a survey of the 30,000 or more plants in this country capable of producing war material, and in favor of the manufacture of such material by private interests at prices regulated by the Government.

This vote of the National Chamber of Commerce is significant because it was taken among what is considered the soberest, hardest-headed class in the country—reputable business men; because the voters represented practically every part of the country; and because of the overwhelming majority returned in favor of the whole preparedness programme.

A GOVERNMENT ARMOR PLANT?

The great blot upon the Naval Bill is the provision for the construction of a Government armor plate plant to cost $11,000,000. The armor plant question ought not to be confused with the question of the increase of our naval strength. If the Senate and House are in favor of a Government armor plant, let them say so in a separate bill so that the President can veto it.

Two reasons may be alleged for the establishment of a Government armor plant: first, that existing armor plants have insufficient capacity to supply the country's needs; second, that a Government plant could produce armor at a lower price than must be paid to private manufacturers.

Neither of these reasons, in our opinion, prevails. In the first place, the country has three admittedly efficient armor plants. They have a capacity of some thirty-two thousand tons a year. The estimated needs of the navy for the next five years call for twenty-four thousand tons a year, while even the additions which naval enthusiasts would have would hardly be enough to absorb the possible output of these existing plants. In the second place, the private manufacturers have offered to make armor for the Government at a price lower than has been paid for more than ten years, and, if this price be not satisfactory, would make a price which would be as low as the lowest price at which the Government could make it.

In other words, our Government is to-day paying $425 a ton for armor, a price lower than that paid by England, France, Germany, Austria, or Japan. Our own private manufacturers offer to make armor at $395 a ton, agreeing also to accept this price for the next five years. Of course they make this proposal because they do not wish their plants to be rendered useless by Government competition. The United States Government is their only customer, and if that customer be lost their plants become valueless.

In addition, it might require, say, three years to build a plant ready to produce armor for battle-ships. We shall need the battle-ships as soon as possible. Why not gain three years in time?

We may also remember that all the great naval Powers (with the exception of Japan, where there was never a private armor industry) have utilized private rather than Government industries for this product. The reasons for this are plain. If the Government utilizes private plants to make its armor, it can exact conditions as to quality and obtain the benefit of certain economies difficult to realize in Government manufacture itself. More particularly, Government manufacture means one sub-department of the Government contracting with another, with no efficient means to enforce contracts as regards time of delivery. It is also more economical to operate an armor plant in connection with a commercial steel plant.

Finally, the army of experts now at work in our private plants should not be discriminated against. The remedy for the evils of armor plate making lies, as in the case of railway administration, not in government ownership but in efficient government regulation.

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FRANCE'S NEW CANAL

The report of the opening of the canal connecting Marseilles and the River Rhone is an important piece of news from France that does not relate primarily to war, although, incidentally, it is a testimonial to the spirit of the French and the stability of their industry that work on the canal has been kept up despite the war.

The importance of this canal, which was begun in 1904, and which is sixty miles long, is that it connects Marseilles, the principal seaport of France, with the North Sea. A delta at the mouth of the Rhone makes passage in and out of that river difficult for large vessels, and heretofore Marseilles, the great French Mediterranean port, about twenty-five miles from the mouth of the Rhone, has been cut off from the inland waterway system of France by a ridge of hills that partly rims the city like a Chinese wall.

The noteworthy feature of the canal is that it bores through this hilly barrier, five miles of the canal beng a tunnel beneath a hill. This tunnel, by the way, is seventy-five feet wide and seventy feet high, dimensions that make it the largest tunnel interior in the world, according to despatches.

By the completion of this work, which has cost about one hundred million francs, vessels up to six hundred tons displacement can go by water from Marseilles to Havre and the North Sea without passing through the Straits of Gibraltar. Marseilles has now direct water communication with inland cities like Lyons, Avignon, and Valence. Incidentally, the canal will probably be useful in time of war, for through it small fighting craft, like small destroyers and submarines, can make a quick run between the Mediterranean and the English Channel.

THE RETIREMENT OF MR. SOTHERN AND MISS MARLOWE

Americans are not given to fervent expressions of their appreciation of art; but there was real fervor in the ovations given to Edward H. Sothern and his wife, Julia Marlowe, on May 26 and 27, on the occasion of their last professional appearance on the stage. These two have long been recognized as exponents of the best in the American theater, and they deserve thoroughly the recognition that they have received. The two distinguished players made an impressive picture as they received the cheers of the assembled crowd—Miss Marlowe in a gracefully draped tunic of warm red crape, Mr. Sothern in the picturesque habiliments of the poetic rogue, François Villon.

Mr. Sothern and Miss Marlowe have been more than merely actors and producers of plays; they have been a large cultural influence in our National life. They have withstood without flinching the tendencies toward the degradation of the stage, and they have spread wide a taste for the best that the theater has to offer.

The first of the two performances was the benefit arranged by Miss Marlowe for the permanently maimed French soldiers. At the beginning of the programme Mr. Sothern reminded the audience of our National duty to France when he read from an article these words, which roused the audience to high enthusiasm: "The United States owes its existence as a National entity to the France of the eighteenth century." Miss Marlowe, after an absence from the stage of two years, recited five bits of verse, all patriotic in tone, and recited them with the charm and imagination that have always distinguished her reading. The first of the recitations was "Verdun," by Harold Begbie, and as Miss Marlowe fervently repeated the line, "You shall not pass!" the audience was deeply moved. The other recitations were "Hymn of Love," by Helen Gray Cone; "For All We Have and Are," by Rudyard Kipling; the last sonnet written by Rupert Brooke, prophetic of his death; and the "Star-Spangled Banner." On her final appearance Miss Marlowe recited a poem of undisclosed authorship, bidding farewell to the Shakespearean characters she has enacted.

Julia Marlowe was born in England and came to America with her parents at the age of ten. She was twelve years of age when she first appeared upon the stage in Cincinnati as Josephine in "Pinafore." She made her first New York appearance in 1887 in the rôle of Parthenia in "Ingomar." Since then until two years ago she has appeared in many romantic and classic rôles. Her work has been distinguished for its poetic rapture, perhaps, more than for any other quality. Mr. Sothern was born in New Orleans, the son of Edward A. Sothern, a prominent actor of a generation ago. He made his professional appearance in New York in a small part in 1879. The retirement of these two artists, which will be distinctly felt as a loss

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to the American stage, is permanent. They will make their home in England.

A POLICE HERO

On May 31 Henry A. Schwarz, a New York City policeman, was on duty in First Avenue, on the lower East Side. He heard shots as if coming from a basement. He hurried to see what was the matter. He found a place with only one exit, "a regular rat-hole of a place," some one said afterward; hence Schwarz knew that if he waited outside he would ultimately capture whoever was inside. But lives might be lost while he waited. He went in. He found three men in mortal affray. He made the fourth. He fell from bullet wounds. He was taken to the hospital. All that was possible was done. His fellow-officers even gave their blood, but they could not save him. He died a hero.

At his funeral there marched the Police Commissioner and the two squads of the police of his precinct. But there was another element in the procession. It was thus described by Mr. Arthur Woods, the Police Commissioner, in an address before the Federation of Women's Clubs:

> After the regular police came the junior police, boys from twelve to fifteen years of age. They, too, felt that they had lost a brother, and they marched with stern, set faces.
>
> Who were these boys? That is where we are trying to develop the police. These boys from that same part of the city might have grown up to lives of crime. Now they are growing to be definitely on the side of law and order. . . .
>
> I have a hundred and sixty-seven blocks in the city where I want to give the children the streets to play in. They must have a chance to develop their activities in the right way. If they do not, they will do it in the wrong.
>
> A kid is a kid. He is full of punch and go, and the very worst place in the world for him is New York. Even if his baseball hits us, it is better for him to be playing baseball than to be hanging around with gang leaders, learning to do things that he should not.

Here, in a nutshell, is the case for civilization in the metropolis. It begins in a low East Side dive. It requires the heroism of death to bring law and order into a place already debased. But why should it be debased? Why wait till grown men make it so? Why not begin with the child in an effort to civilize?

This is what from the start Police Commissioner Woods has called the problem of the city—not so much how to punish as how to prevent crime. While he has been foremost in recognizing the grit and pluck necessary to punish crime, the enduring achievement of his tenure of office is, we believe, his attempt to prevent crime. Particularly would he provide proper play and proper discipline for boys otherwise unruly, thus bringing about a condition of normality, so that those boys as well as all others may find it "more fun" to be good than to be bad—so that they may even be proud to organize themselves into a junior police, with the pleasant feeling that they, too, are now a part of the self-respecting solidarity of society.

THE MCALL MISSION

Those who have ever lived in Paris, not as tourists or short sojourners, but long enough to gauge the things that really influence the life of the people, will be interested to know how the McAll Mission is getting on during these days of war.

This mission was established at the time of another war. The Germans were then also in conflict with the French. It was established in 1872, in a little shop in the Paris suburb of Belleville, by the Rev. and Mrs. Robert W. McAll, of England. It has had a most creditable and inspiring history in bringing the Gospel to thousands of those who either felt themselves without a church or who hated the Church.

Few visitors to France can have missed noting the various McAll *salles* in Paris. Many of them are still rented rooms of the conventional mission-hall type, but many others—like the Salle Centrale and the Grenelle Fraternité—have been gradually giving way to more adequate establishments equipped to minister in every way to human as well as spiritual needs, and especially to neighborhood life. The work has now extended to other parts of France, as is evidenced by the Fraternité at Nantes, the Solidarité at Rouen, and the Foyer and the Rayon at Lille, the Lille *salles* still operating despite German occupation.

Indeed, the McAll Mission is doing everything possible under present limitations. Many workers are serving as chaplains in the army and the fleet, and not a few are in the trenches. While the *salles* are thus handicapped, the general committee, most of whom are beyond the military age, are all working

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overtime, and the wives of the various agents throughout France are valiantly filling their husbands' places as preachers, teachers, etc. Hundreds of McAll converts on the firing line have also been acting as lay evangelists among their comrades.

But the war has opened a new field of endeavor to the McAll Mission because of the necessity for relief, and therefore some of the *salles* now serve as hospitals. One of the chapel boats has been utilized as a hospital. Many *ouvroirs* and *cantines* or meeting and eating places for men and women have been opened.

It is interesting to note that the Boy Scout movement was introduced into France by a McAll man, and that the movement has done so much in the way of solving the problem of the street boy that the man who started it has been elected to membership in the French Academy. Some of the Scouts have served in the army and have acted as spies; others have been invaluable in connection with the Red Cross and Ambulance Department.

The McAll Mission has always enjoyed American support. The present budget requires an income of about sixty thousand dollars, but the challenge of unoccupied fields in relief work means that this sum should be doubled. This appeal, from a country where there is one Protestant church to each fifty thousand in the population and which of all countries involved in the war has shown itself the most deserving, will, we are sure, not be made in vain.

THE BLACK HAND UNDER CONTROL

Some months ago The Outlook noted the almost complete extinction of the salary loan shark so far as New York City is concerned and the continued Nation-wide improvement of small loan conditions—the work of the Russell Sage Foundation; and the passing of the "wireless wire-tappers" (as the band of confidence men was known who, with headquarters in New York, had within the last ten years taken some $15,000,000 from dupes all over the United States)—the work of the police and the District Attorney's office. Now we are able to record the beginning of the end of another loosely organized group of lawbreakers, in that the New York police have brought under control the so-called "Black Hand"—composed of some two or three thousand Italian ex-convicts—which came into existence with the beginning of the century and for ten years held its honest countrymen in the Italian settlements of the entire country by the throat. Black-Handism reached its height in 1913, four years after New York detectives, following the murder in Sicily of their comrade Petrosino on the same quest, brought thence the penal certificates of more than seven hundred Italian ex-convicts then in the United States whom it was proposed to deport. The circumstance that the certificates were suppressed at police headquarters under orders of Mayor McClellan gave these exotic desperadoes assurance of the power of American political leaders to protect them, under which murder, arson, kidnapping, blackmail, and bomb-throwing in the Italian settlements of New York and the rest of the country kept the respectable element in those communities in a state of continual terror. In an article in The Outlook of October 30, 1909, figures were presented that had been approved by the Italian Chamber of Commerce of this city showing achievement on the part of Italians in New York during the previous twenty-five years which could scarcely have been equaled by any other nationality among us. The estimated material value of the property in the Italian settlements of the five boroughs at that time was $120,000,000, aside from $100,000,000 invested in commerce, $50,000,000 invested in real estate, and $20,000,000 on deposit in the banks. In an article in The Outlook of August 16, 1913, Secretary Schroeder, of the Italian Chamber of Commerce, was quoted as saying that during the intervening four years the holdings of New York Italians in local real estate and general commerce not only had failed to increase, but were probably considerably less than in 1909, and many prominent Italians pronounced their belief that the Black Hand had ruined and driven out of the United States thousands of honest and industrious Italians who might otherwise have made the best kind of citizens.

THE POLICE AND THE BLACK HAND

It was the present Police Commissioner of New York, Arthur Woods, who, as head of the Detective Bureau under Police Commissioner Bingham, conducted the negotiations with the State Department at Washington in 1908, through which the Italian Government

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made arrangements to turn over the penal certificates of malefactors of that nationality to agents of the New York Police Department; and, had not political pressure upon Mayor McClellan brought about the dismissal of General Bingham and the resignation of Mr. Woods in 1909, with the subsequent suppression of the more than seven hundred penal certificates hitherto mentioned, it is probable that the Black Hand would have been extirpated before the end of 1910. As it was, the evil order grew and thrived. In October, 1910, during Mayor Gaynor's administration, William J. Flynn, Chief of the Secret Service of the Treasury Department—who earlier that year had brought about the sentence of eight of the most important members of the Black Hand to one hundred and fifty years' imprisonment by way of the Federal courts—was made a deputy commissioner of police, his familiarity with Italian criminals and their methods being one of his qualifications for the post.

Mr. Flynn began a vigorous crusade against the Black Hand, but as soon as he began to get results he was transferred to another branch of the detective service, and resigned in disgust. In the summer of 1912 the names of two Tammany district leaders appeared with those of half a score of Italian ex-convicts and crooks on the posters advertising the outing of a political organization in Harlem that took its name from an Italian who controlled a number of disorderly houses in that part of the city. In 1913, when an Italian ex-convict was found guilty of perjury in the Supreme Court of the State, a Supreme Court justice and a Tammany district leader went to the justice who had tried the case and induced him to make the sentence of the convicted man a ridiculously inadequate one. Mr. Woods became Police Commissioner early in 1914; and, in spite of the labor essential to the really marvelous results he has already accomplished in his Department, he has quietly been giving particular attention to the Black Hand situation, the campaign being under the general direction of Deputy Commissioner Scull. So successful has been the policy adopted of close surveillance and quick arrest of these malefactors on the commission of any crime, no matter how trivial, with the detention of witnesses and the skillful "working up" of evidence, that in two years the *omerta*, or conspiracy of silence, once the most effective factor in preventing the convictions in Italian cases, has practically disappeared from the courts; respectable Italians now carry complaints of the Black Hand to the police of their own accord, and there is comparative peace in the Italian settlements of New York. The same conditions exist in these settlements elsewhere throughout the country, not only because hundreds of the more active of the Black-Handers are in prison, but because the situation in other cities has generally been controlled by leaders in New York. The police measure of Black Hand crime is in the comparative number of arrests for bomb-throwing. There were 151 arrests for this crime in 1913, 65 in 1914, 45 in 1915. Up to April, 1916, there have been but three arrests for bomb-throwing in this city. The decrease in such crimes as murder, arson, blackmail, kidnapping, and extortion has been approximately on the same scale.

A TOUR THROUGH THE NATIONAL PARKS

We welcome the favorable report by the House Committees of two bills which ought to pass at the present session of Congress. One is the much-needed Federal Workmen's Compensation Bill. It has been before Congress for three years in one form or another. The other is the bill providing for a centralized administration of the National parks, a measure indorsed by the Secretaries of Agriculture and of the Interior and having the approval of every organization interested in the preservation and development of the National parks, particularly the American Civic Association, at whose instance the bill was introduced.

That Association has now announced a practical plan of getting acquainted with the National parks which should meet with wide acceptance. It involves a visit to those parks by a special train and of lectures and conferences there on questions connected with the National park system. The special train is to leave Chicago on June 22. It will go by way of St. Paul and Minneapolis to the Yellowstone National Park, the largest and best known of all our parks; thence to Glacier National Park, to Rainier Park, to Crater Lake Park, to the Yosemite, and to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. From Chicago to Chicago—that is to say, from June 22 to August 5—the price is $530 including all expenses, with a less price for partial tours. Registration for partial tours, however, will be accepted only with the understanding that the places must be released to any

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applicants for the complete tour. The business details are to be handled by the Bureau of University Travel, 31 Trinity Place, Boston, Massachusetts, to whom all questions should be addressed.

We have fourteen National parks. They are: In Arkansas (Hot Springs), in Wyoming (the Yellowstone), in California (the Yosemite, the Sequoia, and the General Grant), in Arizona (Casa Grande), in Washington (Rainier), in Oregon (Crater Lake), in the Dakotas (Wind Cave and Sully's Hill), in Colorado (Mesa Verde and Rocky Mountain), in Oklahoma (Platt), and in Montana (Glacier).

How many who read the above have visited any of these parks? How many can name them all? And yet these great pleasure-grounds should be widely known and appreciated. The American Civic Association deserves the thanks of the people of the whole country for the opportunity it offers.

THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland is the sixth city in population in the United States and one of the very richest in proportion to population, but it has taken her thirty years fully to awake to the importance of municipal art. We are gratified, therefore, to chronicle the opening of the splendid building of the Cleveland Museum of Art, for, in proportion to neighboring cities like Buffalo and Toledo, the larger and richer Cleveland has lagged behind in giving opportunities for art museum education.

The remarkable structure has a fine setting against the foliage of Wade Park, and when the recently graded hilltop becomes softened by near-by planting of trees and shrubs the building will seem less stark.

The first architectural feature to strike the observer is an Ionic central portico, flanked by two long walls, relieved at either end by a pair of engaged columns between piers on each of the terminal pavilions. Of course, long walls without penetrations are necessary for pictures illuminated by a top light only, but the exterior spaces seem too unrelieved. At either end of the building, however, triple windows framed by a repetition of the pavilion motive already noted, and with the same number of columns as in the portico, felicitously tie together the two fronts of the building.

On the ground floor are the Museum's administration and educational departments. The next story is for exhibition purposes. The color scheme consists of varied tones of gray, ranging from the sandstone which lines many of the halls to warmer notes in some of the galleries. From the gallery of Italian paintings one proceeds to the Spanish and Dutch paintings, and thence to the French and British and to those of our American school. These are all in the eastern wing. It surrounds a great court in which tapestries, armor, and metal work are to be exhibited.

The western wing is devoted to the arts of Egypt, China, Japan, and the Near East. It surrounds a garden court walled with soft-toned brick and covered with an airy-looking skylight. This court is to be used for examples of sculpture, and such architectural subjects as are more in place in a garden than in the severer atmosphere of a gallery.

The second story is to be utilized for a children's museum, for a gallery of casts, and for other purposes. The Outlook has repeatedly emphasized the need for a distinctively children's museum in connection with the museums enjoyed mostly by "grown-ups." Hence it is a satisfaction to note that the Cleveland authorities are installing their children's museum where, as they say, little people may find such objects as interest them and where they may study them at their ease, without disturbing their elders by excited prattle, the necessary expression of a child's eager interest.

The directors, as we understand, will not limit the objects of interest in the children's museum to works of art, strictly so called. "Works of nature" may also find a place there, it is indicated. Thus a nucleus should be formed of a museum of natural history, an institution which Cleveland lacks.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ARTS

This year's Convention of the American Federation of Arts, which has just been held at Washington, had two notable features.

In the first place, there was the memorial exhibition of paintings of the late John W. Alexander, which was held in the Corcoran Gallery, and the meeting in appreciation of Mr. Alexander's life and services, at which Mr. Robert W. de Forest presided, the addresses being by Edwin H. Blashfield, President of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Howard Russell Butler, Vice-President of the National Academy of Design;

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Charles Dana Gibson, President of the Society of Illustrators; and by Mrs. Edward MacDowell. Surely no American artist ever more fitly merited such a memorial celebration.

The second feature was also marked by an exhibition, namely, of American industrial art, and was defined by the title of the main topic under discussion, "Art and the People"—in other words, art and its relation to every-day life, or art as a measure of civilization. Particularly practical suggestions of means by which better legislation in matters pertaining to art might be secured were made by Senator Newlands, of Nevada. Other speakers followed in like spirit. Each session was devoted to a special phase of the general subject, and was presided over by one of distinction in that particular field.

It is indeed true that the progress of art may be marked quite as much by proper house lines, wall-paperings, and pots and pans as by the rather more theoretical art education in schools and museums, which has come to be regarded as traditional. This was thoroughly appreciated by the men and women of reputation and distinction who came to the American Federation of Arts Convention. They came from widely separated parts of our country, but were all workers in art.

We have no National department or bureau of the fine arts. The Federation is to a large extent performing the functions of such a bureau. With headquarters at Washington, it has sent out during the last year to various parts of the country no less than twenty-eight traveling exhibitions of works of art, which have been shown in one hundred and fourteen places. It has also circulated illustrated lectures on art, which have been given one hundred and twelve times. It publishes the "American Art Annual," and also the monthly "American Magazine of Art." Finally, it serves as a general clearing-house for art information, bringing various organizations and individuals into close relation, preventing duplication of effort, and encouraging whatever tends towards the advancement of art and its appreciation.

THE SAILOR AND SOCIETY

One of the most impressive ceremonies that has ever been seen in historic old Trinity Church, New York City, or in any other American church, for that matter, was the recent gathering in Trinity of twelve hundred seamen of more than a dozen nationalities in a special service to honor the memory of sailors of the world lost at sea during the past year. In addition to the twelve hundred merchant sailormen, whose faces had been bronzed by the sun and winds of most of the seven seas, there were more than a hundred marines and bluejackets from the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, Admiral Usher, Commandant of that yard, and three hundred guests, who included the representatives of thirteen consulates.

There was no partiality, no nationality, in the memorial services. It was pointed out that more sailormen had lost their lives at sea during the year that preceded this service than during any previous year in history, not excepting the year that saw the demolition of the Spanish Armada, or the years of any of the great naval wars, like the War of 1812, the Spanish-American War, or the war between Russia and Japan. The services were held on the anniversary of the sinking of the Lusitania, but no mention was made of that unhappy ship. The seamen who went down with her were mourned no more and no less than those who took their last cruise on German submarine, French battle-ship, or on some Norwegian, Russian, Spanish, Peruvian, or American cargo-carrier.

In addition to the object of paying tribute to the memory of the sailors of all nations who have gone to coral graves in the past year, this service in old Trinity had another object. That was, to give public recognition of the value of the seamen to society. It is for these two purposes that in a church in Liverpool and in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Englishmen have had annual memorial services for seamen for several years. With a similar aim, the first annual "Sailors' Day" was announced by a conference of American churches of many sects and held in St. Paul's Church, Boston, about a year ago. This joint conference, which is made up of churches of many creeds, is doing a good deal more than hold services for the sailor's soul. It has organized committees that are working with such practical aims as to get favorable legislation for seamen, to get regulations that will improve sailors' boarding-houses, and to establish a free labor bureau for the shipment of seamen.

Sailors' Day ought to become an occasion of National observance. The people of the interior States must not think that they owe nothing to the men of the sea. In addition to the inland boys who join the merchant

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service, there are those in our navy. Ninety-six per cent of the enlisted men are native-born Americans. Sixty-three per cent come from States in the interior. When the submarine F-4 sank at Honolulu, the commanding officer of that frail craft was from Reno, Nevada, the next in command was from Kentucky, and nine of the crew were from inland States.

The sailor's lot has always been a hard one. A good deal of risk and hardship will always attach to it, but this risk and hardship can be reduced. The prosperity, safety, and strength of our country depend as much upon the sailor as upon the farmer.

THE PRESIDENTIAL SITUATION

Before this issue of The Outlook reaches its readers the Republican party will have named at Chicago its candidate for President.

During the last four months, in a series of articles by Mr. Davenport, we have been endeavoring to report and interpret the currents of public opinion, which have gathered in little rills in all parts of the country and are now united in the flood of Convention week at Chicago. As these words are being printed the Republicans and Progressives are determining the solution of one of the most important political problems that this country has faced since the Civil War.

The discussion throughout the country during the past winter has centered about candidates, and very little about the platform. Both Republicans and Progressives are practically united with regard to the general political principles for which they stand and which they wish to see embodied in the platform. These principles may be briefly stated as follows:

(*a*) Protection of American lives and property at home and abroad.

(*b*) Protection of American industries against foreign cheap labor competition.

(*c*) Protection of American working men, women, and children against unjust exploitation.

(*d*) Protection of American natural resources both against private monopoly and against being left to go to waste.

(*e*) Protection of the National treasury against deficit.

(*f*) A policy of military, industrial, and social preparedness which shall increase American efficiency and enable the United States to perform its just share of the work of the world.

The great question at Chicago has been to select a leader under whom the foregoing programme can be carried out. As this pre-nomination campaign has progressed, three names have stood out above all the others—the names of Root, Roosevelt, and Hughes. Mr. Root's name, it seems to us, has never been seriously considered far away from the Atlantic seaboard, and the contest at this writing seems to have narrowed itself to one between the supporters of Mr. Roosevelt and the supporters of Justice Hughes.

As these words are read the minds of all voting Americans will have been turned from the conflicts of the pre-nomination period to the sterner and more definite, although perhaps not more important, issues of the Presidential campaign itself. There can be little doubt as to the character of this campaign if Mr. Roosevelt has been chosen as the Republican standard-bearer. He has made very clear for the past year what he believes to be the supreme issue. If Mr. Hughes or a still more unknown man is selected, the issues of the campaign will have to shape themselves as time goes on. We do not use the words "more unknown" invidiously. Mr. Hughes is one of the great American personalities of the time, but no one yet knows with definiteness just what his attitude is on the questions in which the country is vitally interested. Now that the question of a Republican leadership is determined, the country may and should give itself more unreservedly to a consideration and decision of the issues. The political forces opposed to President Wilson have now chosen their leader. The result of the campaign of the next four months will depend more upon the leader than upon the platform. For the people of the country in this Presidential election have practically made their own platform and have framed their own measures. Unless the Republican candidate who has been chosen at Chicago while these words are on the press embodies and represents the great principles of Americanism which Mr. Roosevelt has so clearly expounded during the past year, he will find his contest with Mr. Wilson during the summer a difficult one. For Mr. Wilson is an effective campaigner, has a large following, and can be successfully met only by an opponent who has definite convictions and can express them vigorously.

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THE BATTLE OF THE NORTH SEA

A question of strategic probability that has been debated ardently by experts since the war began has been whether a really momentous naval battle was likely to take place in the North Sea. Such a possibility has been scouted by one school of critics because, as they argued, Germany would not risk a crushing defeat by England's superior force. The other school pointed out that Germany had in the Kiel Canal, in the entrance to the Baltic, and in the protected waters near by superior facilities for withdrawal if overmatched, and that Germany might well think it good policy to risk its "High Sea Fleet" if there was a chance of tempting a part of the British "Grand Fleet" into an unequal action. Three months ago The Outlook said: "As a last resort the German fleet may issue from its hiding-place and engage the British fleet in what then would probably be the greatest naval battle of history. A decisive victory for either party in such a battle would probably end the war."

Now the great North Sea Battle (described on another page) has taken place; in its course the two grand fleets have been engaged; it was the greatest naval battle in the world's history as regards tonnage of ships, power of guns, and number of men. But it was not decisive in any sense, nor will it end the war—the two combatants are still disputing as to which inflicted the greater loss on the other. The single fact of the German fleet's withdrawal into its safe refuge disposes of the claim that the result was a great German victory—victors do not withdraw and leave the defeated in possession of the field.

Why did Germany risk her navy in this battle? We believe that, if not absolutely "a last resort," to quote The Outlook's former words, it was a desperate resort; that, like the Verdun assault, its purpose was political rather than military; that its effect on the German people (if it should have any measure of success, or anything that could be tortured by exaggeration into the semblance of a success) was counted on to allay growing discontent. The non-fighting Germans are alarmed at the terrible loss of men reported from the battle-fields, and are distressed by financial and food conditions; if the war is to go on, they must at any cost be deluded and excited by loud acclaim of putative victories. The moral effect of such claims on the peace now desired by Germany is also a reason for the risk. Her rulers do want peace, but a peace dictated by themselves, and on terms impossible of consideration by the Allies; if the world can be deceived by a sensational naval battle, peace on a "drawn game" basis may be more likely. That is the motive. The result (even granting Germany her full claims as to relative losses) is inconsiderable. England's sea power has not been destroyed. Her preponderance of naval strength still exists. We shall not see Germany sweeping the seas with her fleets, England hiding her ships in her harbors, British commerce made impossible, as German commerce is now. And until that state of things is brought about, the claim of a decisive naval victory by Germany is preposterous. The battle, says one careful critic, "alters the prospects of the war not one scintilla." It does not change the Allies' advantage either in sea power or land power. In this the Battle of the North Sea differs enormously from the two historic sea fights with which one instinctively compares it, the destruction of the Armada and the Battle of Trafalgar.

What is the lesson for America? Foremost is the instant application to preparedness. Read Admiral Mahan's "The Influence of Sea Power" and realize that it is as true to-day as when it was written. Our navy is our first line of battle. Land forces call for preparation, but sea forces are literally nothing without it. Men can be taught to dig, march, and shoot in six months—war-ships need two years to plan and build. England would have been a German dependency the month after the North Sea Battle if her navy had not been kept ready, strong, invincible. Secondly, let us not forget that the big battle-ships, the dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts, by their very existence and presence dominated this battle. The achievements of the battle-cruisers were splendid; Admiral Beatty's fight with them against odds, whether prudent or not, was in accordance with a glorious British naval tradition to attack the enemy on sight. But the first line of battle-cruisers needed a second line of big ships behind it. Experts must decide just what the American navy requires, but before deciding finally they should ponder the indications of this great battle. If Congress is too blind or over-confident to realize that the American navy is

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what it should be, the plain people must drive Congress to action or take the risk of disaster.

WHAT HAS CONGRESS DONE?

What is the designation of the Congress now in session? How long has this particular session lasted and what has it done?

It is the Sixty-fourth Congress. It began on December 6, 1915. It is a Democratic Congress. In the Senate, the upper house, there are 56 Democrats and 40 Republicans, a total of 96. In the House of Representatives, the lower branch, there are 232 Democrats, 199 Republicans, 7 Progressives, 1 Socialist, and 1 Independent, a total of 440.

In both houses the great majority of members are lawyers. The others include bankers, farmers, planters, ranchmen, railway men, contractors, engineers, editors, physicians, manufacturers, merchants, real estate men, lumber men, publishers, and educators.

All ought to be educators in a broad sense. But they are not. Neither in the discussions preceding the enactment of legislation nor in net result accomplished has there been much popular education in the present session. Yet there has been some. It is to be found in various committee rooms—where, in our opinion, the real work of Congress is done, where bills are considered by special committees before they are reported to the two houses—rather than in those houses themselves.

This was strikingly shown in the hearings on the principal piece of legislation, which, by the President's signature, has now become law—the Army Bill. That measure includes some vitally important provisions of military reform, it is true; the training features, for instance. But it remains to be seen whether the power given to the militia does not offset any and all of these benefits. Aside from the loss of the expected "continental" reserve, Americans will one day remember that, with the same money now to be spent in pay to the militia (thus securing a dubious reserve, and certainly securing a militia control in our military system), we might have had the 250,000 regulars which, according to the War College experts, is the smallest number for an adequate first-line defense. After garrisoning Alaska, the Canal Zone, and our insular possessions, we shall have, under the new law, some 51,000 men as a mainland mobile force! According to the War College, we should have 121,000.

The enactment of the Army Bill has, of course, hitherto overshadowed other legislative endeavors, but in a review of the work of the present Congress so far we should not forget that among other measures passed in varying forms by the two houses, and which have been harmonized in conference, are the Postal Savings System Bill, which extends and enlarges the Government postal savings banks; the Military Academy Cadet Bill, which will increase the number of cadets at West Point; and the Sugar Tariff Bill, which restores and continues the duty on sugar. Besides these are certain appropriation bills. Among the measures still in conference are the Philippines Bill, the Reclamation Extension Bill, the Rural Credits Bill, and the Rural Post Roads Bill. The Rivers and Harbors Bill will now take its place in conference.

In addition, each house has passed other important measures; for instance, the Senate has passed a bill granting water power privileges on navigable streams, and the House has passed a child labor bill, a navy bill, an immigration bill, a Porto Rican bill, a flood control bill, a shipping bill, and a bill granting water power privileges on our public domain.

Whatever may be the merits and prospects of these half-passed measures, public opinion judges the present Congress by the bills so far passed by both houses. For example, despite defects, the Rural Credits and some other measures represent economic reform. But what shall be said of such old-fashioned, pork-barrel raids on the Treasury as the Good Roads Bill, and particularly the Rivers and Harbors Bill? This should be said: First of all, the Rivers and Harbors Bill outrageously favors local interests at the expense of National interests. Second, it dumps thousands of dollars into streams whose commerce is rapidly disappearing, and even into streams with less than a foot of water in them. Third, a Democratic Congress has passed a bill flatly defying the Democratic platform's declaration for economy, and in particular crippling the Treasury by more than the forty million dollars annually expected from the restored sugar tax.

In net result the present Congress has not made much of a record so far. But it may still do something to redeem itself.

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PRELIMINARY IMPRESSIONS OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTIONS

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT
STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

This correspondence from Mr. Davenport was written in Chicago before the Convention opened. Next week The Outlook will contain the story and the interpretation of the great Republican and Progressive gatherings.—THE EDITORS.

I UNDERSTAND fully that it is a hazardous undertaking to write down for the public eye preliminary impressions of anything, let alone political conventions. The Josh Billings maxim that "it ain't safe to prophesy unless you know" is nowhere so applicable. To predict beforehand and be proved foolish in the event, aye, there's the rub. Of course I shall have a chance to revise my views during the progress of the Convention, but correcting guesses after the event is more or less of an unprofitable exercise. Nevertheless, some predictions may be safely made even now.

I came to Chicago several days before the Convention opened, and have watched the great show detrain. In the case of a circus that is the most interesting part of it, and when I was a boy I often got up very early in the morning so as not to miss that. Seeing a National Convention detrain is not what it is cracked up to be. It is pretty slow. Perhaps there is a special reason for it this year. The Elephant looks thin and hungry and a bit dejected, and the Bull Moose is shaky on his legs. The show has not the "pep" in it during the early stages that it had four years ago, but there are already indications that things are going to perk up a good deal before the parade starts.

This is the most significant difference between four years ago and the present. Four years ago the air was charged with electricity; both the Old Guard group and the Progressive group were vibrant with vitality, passion, determination. It was war to the knife and knife to the hilt. Nobody would have been surprised at an outbreak of real "gun-play" in the Republican Convention, and the primitive desire to rough-house the opposition tingled to the finger-tips of the contending forces.

There is nothing like that on either side in the preliminary proceedings this year. At the Blackstone, the Auditorium, and the Congress, on the Lake Front, Progressive leaders and Republican leaders touch elbows, chat pleasantly, and show a spirit of conciliation and toleration which is beautiful to behold. Nobody knows yet just what it means, this preliminary spirit of peace and good will. The perspiration begins to start in the pores as I reflect how I may have to change the tune entirely in a later letter. And underneath even now there are signs that toleration is as yet rather superficial. A well-known representative of the Old Guardsmen was accosted sharply in my hearing by a fearful foe of the Roosevelt nomination who wished to know of the leader what all this talk in the newspapers meant about the possible union upon the famous Rough Rider. And the Old Guardsman fairly hurled defiance at the surrounding walls and furniture as he shouted: "Why, man, don't be a fool! Don't you understand that the delegates were elected long before this so-called public opinion got started, and do you suppose those delegates are going to get away from men like Murray Crane and Boies Penrose and Barnes? What has public opinion got to do with a cinch like that?" "Well, I suppose you will be managing Roosevelt in this campaign," said a friend to a well-known old-time director of political ceremonies. "Yes," said the old-timer, quite superciliously, "I shall be managing him as the star speaker of the campaign. But that is as far as he will get." On the other hand, the conciliatory Progressive managers are not as lamblike underneath as some of the chop-licking Republican lions could desire. "This being pleasant and nice and friendly to these Old Guard reprobates is going to last until just 11:59," said one of the bigwigs among the 1912 revolutionists to me. "Before the clock strikes twelve there is going to be trouble unless toleration and compromise strike in deeper than they have yet done."

But outwardly there is a great calm. It was different in 1912. Then the Republican leaders were in power and had towers of patronage strength behind them. They had waxed fat and were kicking without re-

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gard to party or National consequences. Now it has been four years since they saw a full dinner-pail or any dinner at all. And in politics hunger makes the heart grow softer.

Moreover, that extraordinary group of Bourbon political managers who unloosed the furies in 1912—Murray Crane, Penrose, Barnes—are by no means in so strong a position of cohesion and control. Murray Crane gives signs of being for Hughes after the deflation of the Weeks boom. He has learned. He would like to see Republicanism united and victorious. In the preliminary stages Barnes appears sick at heart and ineffective. At the first meeting of the National Committee which he attended in the Coliseum he failed to reply respectfully, so a reporter thought, to certain searching questions propounded to him from the sidelines, and the very impolite newspaper man profanely suggested to him an abrupt and dispiriting change of residence. The incident could never have occurred four years ago. There would have been too much hypnotic awe inspired in the presence of superior power. At least during the preliminaries, the Barnes quarters are sorely lacking in centrifugal energy as well as in sacrosanctity. Something has happened since 1912. The center of political gravity has shifted a little.

An enlightened self-interest draws Penrose strongly toward Roosevelt. Whether he has the strength of purpose to persist in the new and strange path remains to be seen. In the politics of the State of Pennsylvania the support of Roosevelt by Penrose would be strategy of a high order. Penrose is rather hard pressed by the Brumbaugh-Vare forces in the State, and the heart of Pennsylvania has always been strong for Roosevelt, and is strong still. By a Roosevelt coup Penrose would at once unhorse his foes and establish himself past all danger of uprooting for years to come. Besides, a lot of Pennsylvania big business has become Rooseveltian in sentiment, and that has a pleasant sound to the ear of the big political chief. On the other hand, the German-Americans of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia are bombarding Penrose with countless telegrams of antagonism to the candidacy of Roosevelt. As goes Penrose, so begins the landslide. If Penrose in Pennsylvania thinks he cannot stem the tides of opposition which flow from resentful organization Republicans and resentful Germans, then the party progressives have lost their battle so far as the candidate is concerned.

The hollow thing about the gathering of the Republican clans is not the delegates. They are fine, husky men from all over the Union, from Alaska and the island possessions in the sea. The hollow thing is the lack of inspiring purpose and leadership. It is so unlike the Republicanism of the old Blaine days, for example. In the Blaine days everybody in the Republican party, or in the country for that matter, was either for Blaine or against him. Conviction, whatever it represented, was National and at white heat. But now the leaders appear to be eternally trying to hush something or quiet this or prevent that. Never was it more evident than at this Convention that the great need of the Republican party is a white-hot unity of conviction and inspiring leadership. The Republican party is two parties. And the three and one-half millions of habitual stand-patters and the four millions of habitual liberals are wearing themselves out in their struggles with each other. Vigorous and able leadership would do much to change that. The personality and conviction of Wilson, impressed upon the Democratic party, will make the Democratic National Convention, the Democratic policy, the Democratic campaign, a different thing from the Republican. What the Republican party needs most is a great National leader and a great National idea to melt into harmony jarring and discordant elements and factions.

That is the danger here in Chicago. It is also the depressing feature of the preliminaries. How can we kill off Hughes and Roosevelt or any other inspiring personality who will not be tractable, who will not conform? Not all the party managers, but a good many of them, are engaged upon that problem to the exclusion of any other. This tendency towards the unhorsing of its ablest and most far-seeing men of ideas and action, a tendency which American democracy has constantly to fight against, is emphasized anew before every National Convention. Nobody has forgotten the attempt on the part of influences within the Democratic party to destroy Wilson before his nomination in 1912. It is all on a par with attempts within the French democracy to discredit the great Joffre in the matter of the Marne and Verdun. If democracy must needs gravitate towards mediocrity in leadership, then democracy will have short shrift against the efficiency of a nation organized and directed like Germany.

Men and not measures are being discussed

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most diligently. The platform of Americanism, preparedness, the tariff, and the alleged failure of the Democrats seems pretty well settled upon. Just how hard the Republicans will defend their platform after it is constructed depends upon their candidate. There is a wide difference of view about that here, I find. As one of the leaders said to me to-day: "The great argument of the Wilson Democracy is going to be that the country has been kept out of war, and that is going to have a big effect and will be the most difficult thing we shall have to meet. Now if we go anywhere near the other extreme on this matter of preparedness, the voters will think we are for war, and they will beat us. No, sir, we will soft-pedal this preparedness stuff long before election day. The tariff will cut more figure than some folks think." So you can see, gentle reader, how little a platform means and how much a great leader means to a party and to the country.

I do not see much sign of a stampede in the Republican Convention or of liberalism kicking up very much of a row. The psychology of the world and of the country is against that. Whatever is done will be done after pretty cautious deliberation on the part of leaders and delegates. Even Hiram Johnson, in the Progressive Convention, will be handicapped by the fact that the crest of the liberal wave in California has passed out into the Pacific. The nomination of Roosevelt will be a miracle, the nomination of Hughes a remarkable phenomenon—not an unlikely one, though. The natural and proper reticence of Hughes becomes a very considerable though by no means insuperable obstacle as the last moment approaches. And with Roosevelt the very sacrificial quality of his recent gigantic struggles for a better order and the common weal contributes to his unavailability in the eyes of many sincere delegates. To their minds, it is another case of the battered and splattered pioneer. But of course miracles have happened and remarkable phenomena have been observed in mundane affairs.

Chicago, June 5, 1916.

POSTSCRIPT, JUNE 7, 1916

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

A cold, driving rainstorm supplied a chill opening for the Republican and Progressive Conventions to-day. The weather prediction was, "Unsettled." That prediction was evidently meant for the political situation. So far nothing has been settled. As the Conventions open no one seriously discusses any candidates but Roosevelt and Hughes.

The Auditorium Hotel is the center of the Progressives, the Congress Hotel the center of the Republicans. It is at these two hotels that the delegates gather. But these are the pawns and pieces. The players are at the Blackstone; it is there that the game is being played. Four years ago it was a battle between two forces in the one convention; now there are two conventions, and it is more like a game of chess between the two.

The bitterness of 1912 seems to be disappearing. Republican leaders are consulting with Progressive leaders and Progressive leaders are working to agree with Republican leaders. Since the forces have been here it looks as if the Old Guard leaders had lost some of their authority. They can still hold their men out against Roosevelt, but they are not sure of being able to lead them to another. They are anxious. They do not want Hughes, but they do not know that they can keep their delegates from nominating him if they prevent them from nominating Roosevelt. They look with respect at the Progressives and want to win them, but they do not want to pay the price. The Progressive organization here is a very real thing.

The Progressives themselves are divided into two wings. One wing would like to nominate Mr. Roosevelt before the Convention opens and go home; the other wants to prevent anything like the appearance of trying to force a candidate on the Republicans, but wants to give the Republicans a chance to come of their own accord to Mr. Roosevelt's nomination as the only logical act. So far, the Progressive delegates are acquiescing in the more deliberate policy—the policy of co-operation without sacrifice of principle.

The only alternative that seems possible is Justice Hughes. His speech before the young ladies' seminary about the flag has weakened him. It has hurt him with practically all the Progressives and with many

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

THE OUTLOOK, JUNE 14, 1916

PHOTOGRAPH FROM AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

QUEEN VICTORIA OF SPAIN

The above picture, the most recent one taken of the Queen, gives a pleasant impression of the granddaughter of Queen Victoria of England. The Spanish Queen is the daughter of the late Prince Henry of Battenberg and Princess Beatrice (daughter of the late Queen Victoria). Married in 1906 to Alfonso XIII, King of Spain, she has four sons and two daughters

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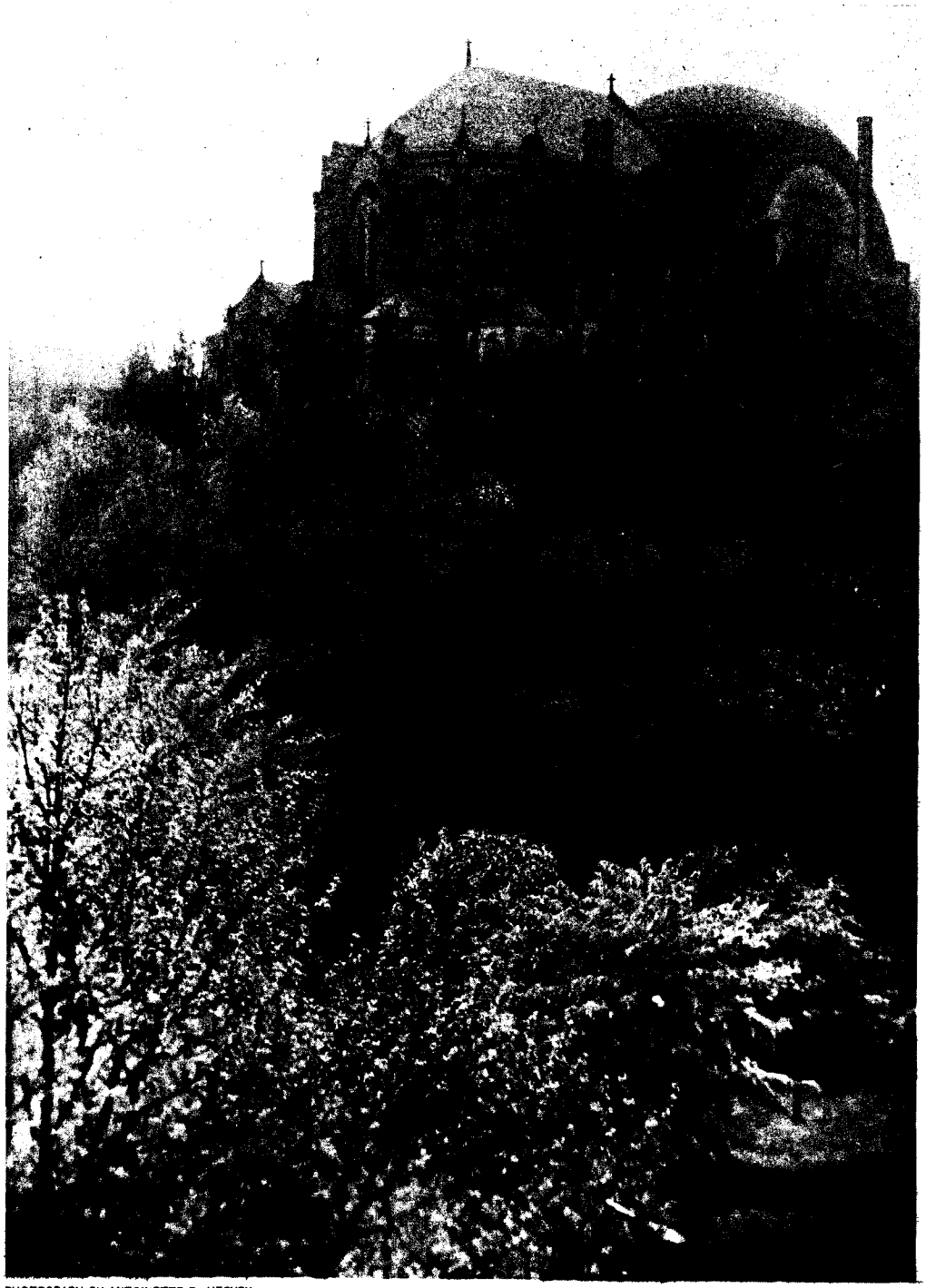

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTOINETTE B. HERVEY

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE

New York is a vast city, including within its limits a wide range of natural scenery as well as the greatest variety of architecture and a most cosmopolitan population. The views presented on these two pages offer unusual aspects of

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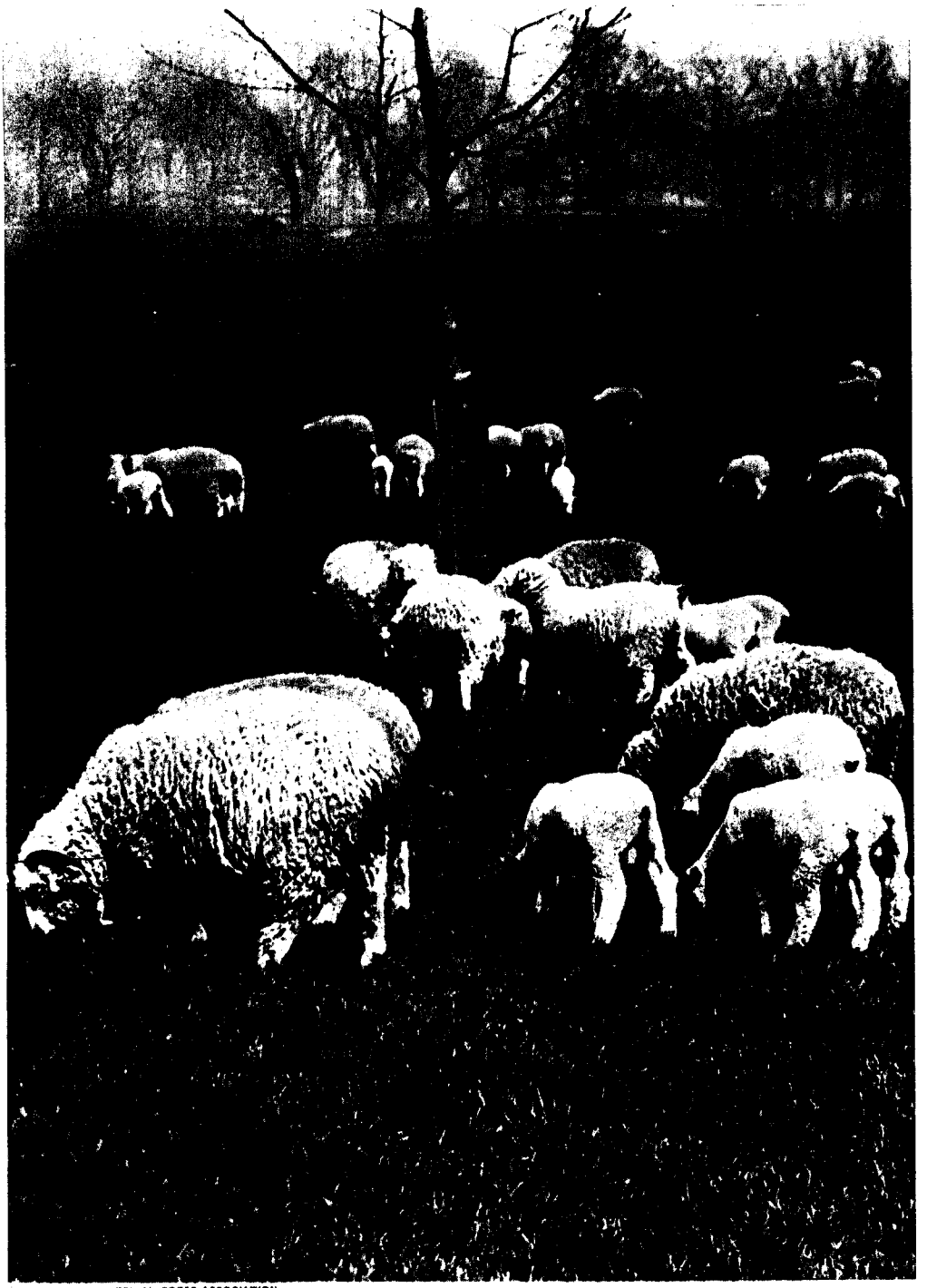

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IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK CITY

familiar subjects—the great Protestant Episcopal Cathedral now under construction, near Morningside Park, and a flock of sheep which are performing the work of lawn-mowers on one of the meadows near the Mall in Central Park

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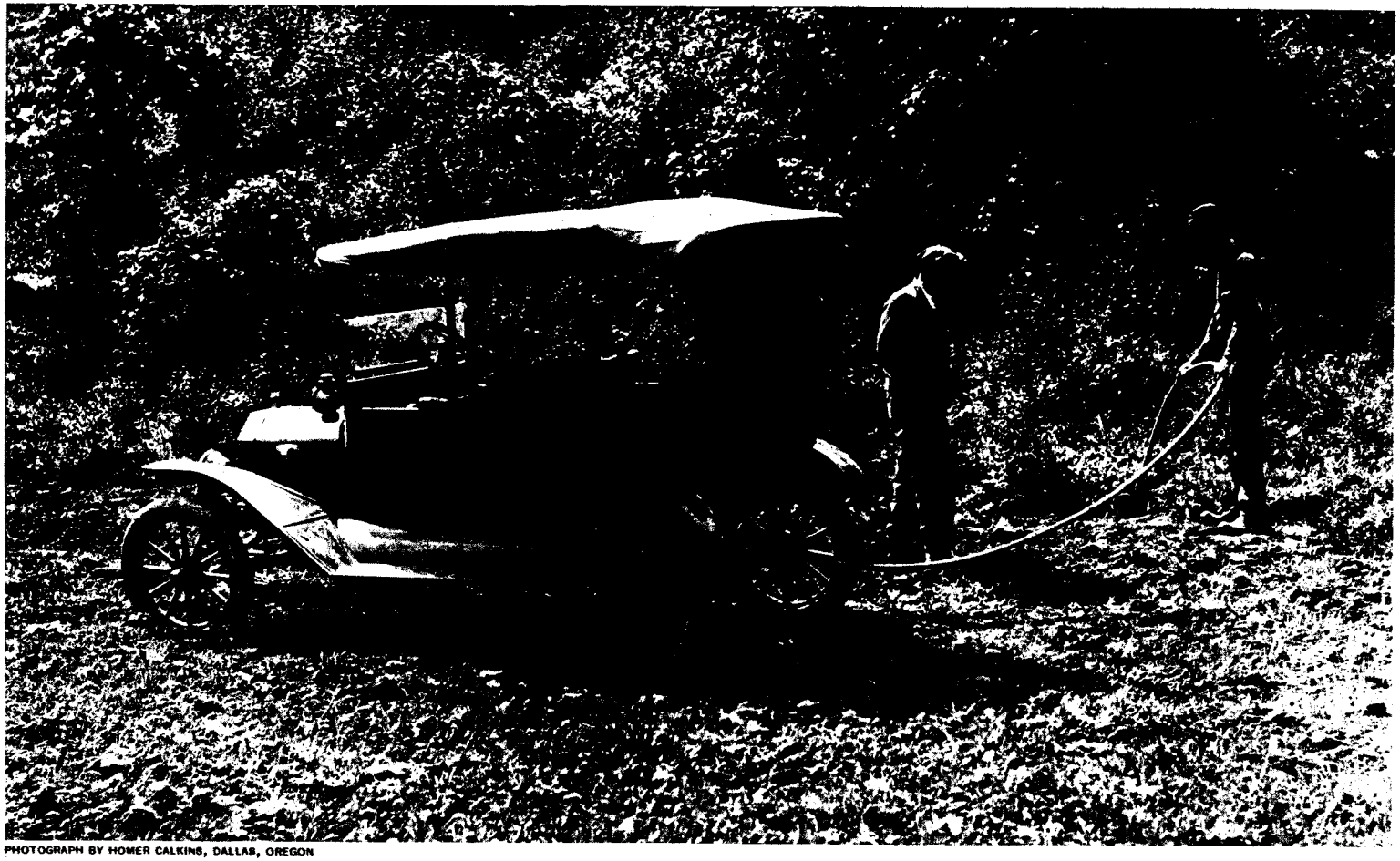

PHOTOGRAPH BY HOMER CALKINS, DALLAS, OREGON

A NEW USE FOR THE AUTOMOBILE—KILLING RODENTS BY GAS FROM THE EXHAUST PIPE

Gophers and other burrowing pests have been successfully exterminated by Oregon farmers by the method shown in the picture. A hose is attached to the exhaust pipe of an automobile and the other end inserted in the opening in the ground. The gas soon begins to come up from the other holes, which are then plugged up, with the result that the rodents are suffocated. The method might at first thought seem expensive, with gasoline at its present high price, but the statement is made that "a badly infested tract of ground containing two or three acres was effectually cleaned of pests by the use of only twenty cents' worth of gasoline"

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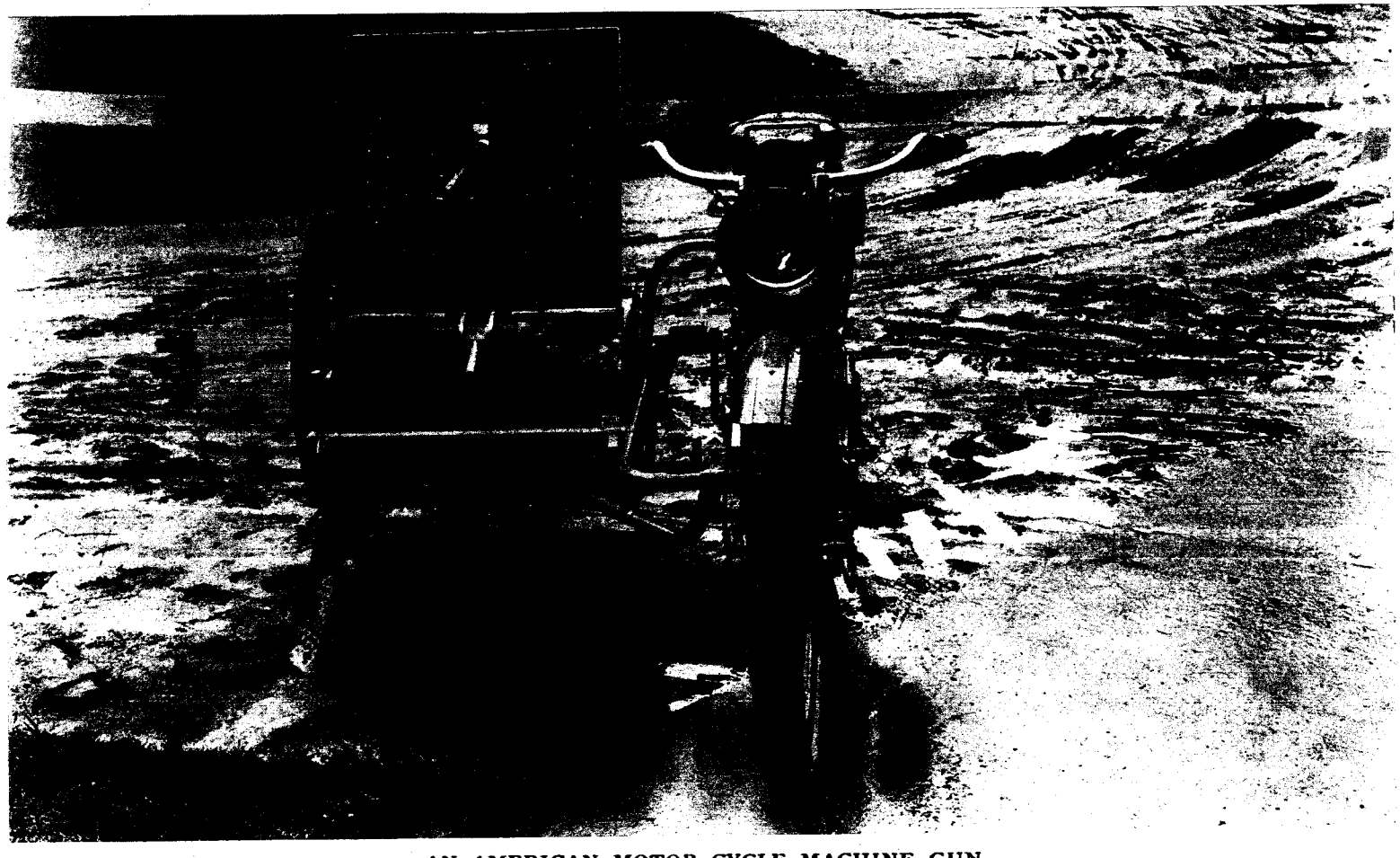

AN AMERICAN MOTOR CYCLE MACHINE GUN

This machine gun is said to be superior to other models in that the gun is nearer to the ground and carries more ammunition than is practicable with other makes. The advantage of having these effective weapons of defense mounted on rapidly moving motor cycles is evident. See editorial pages for further description

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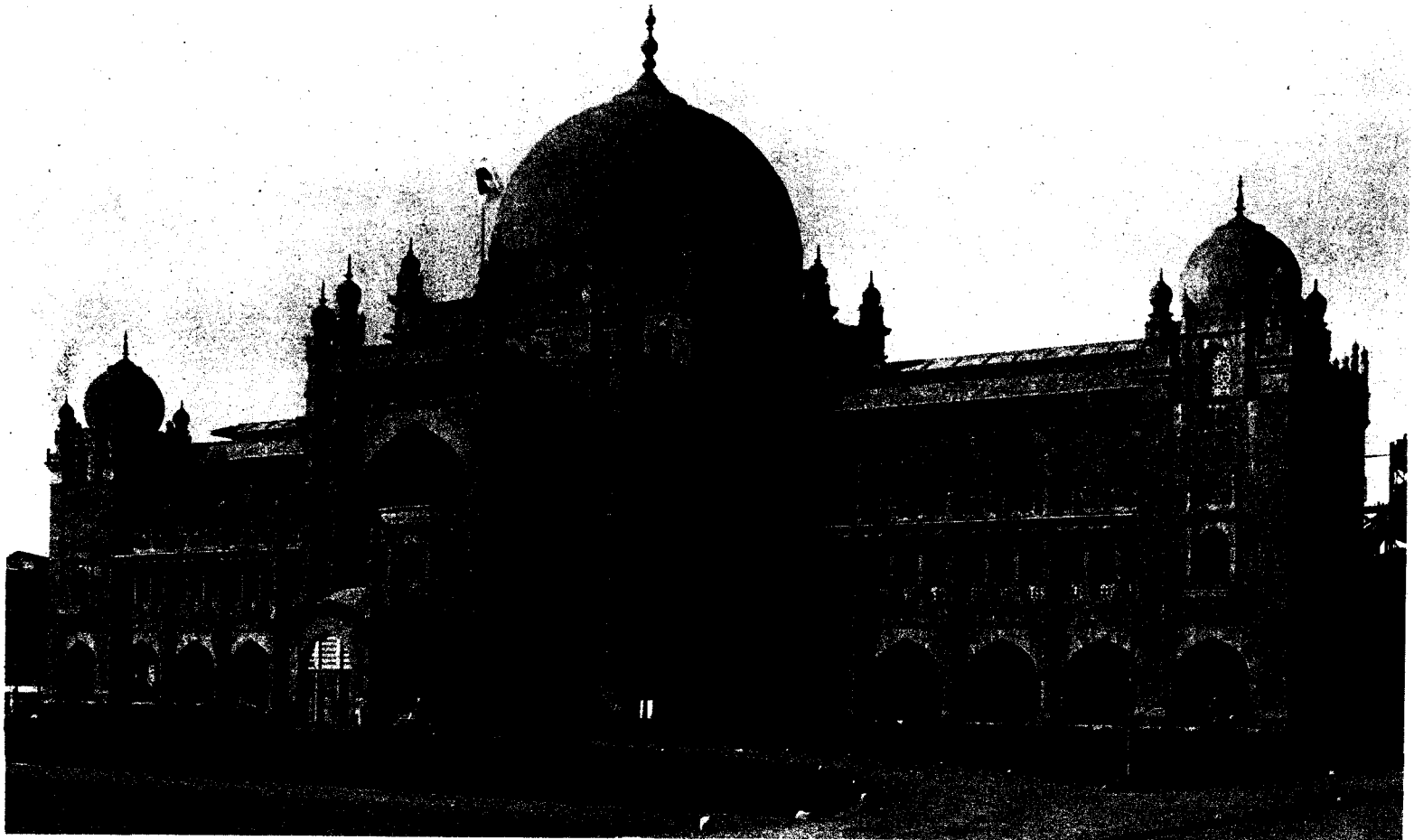

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A BRITISH HOSPITAL IN BOMBAY FOR WOUNDED EAST INDIANS

This noble building is known as the Lady Hardinge Hospital, after the wife of the retiring Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge. To it are sent East Indian soldiers who have been wounded in the great European war

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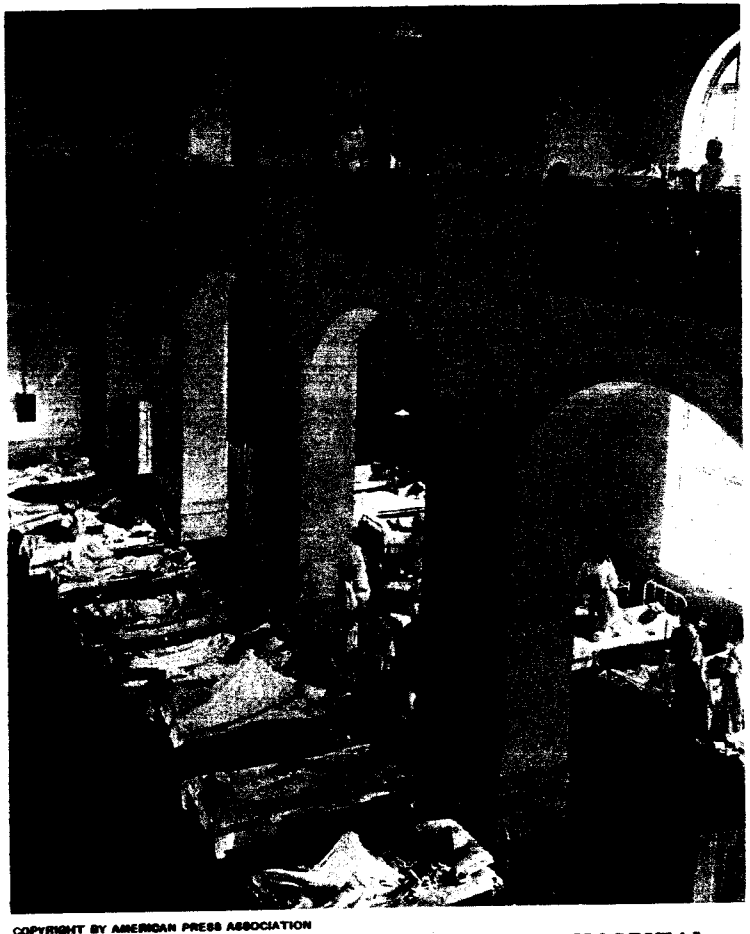

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INTERIOR OF THE LADY HARDINGE HOSPITAL IN BOMBAY

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CONVALESCENT EAST INDIAN SOLDIERS AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE HOSPITAL

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A FRENCH ARTIST'S SK

This picture, drawn by Lucien Jonas, one of the artists appointed by the French Government to
at the front. A kind-hearted French trooper is carrying a wounded English soldier to a place
helpless man and a rel

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BROTHERS IN ARMS

al records of the war, is entitled "The Fraternity of Arms," and vividly portrays an incident red for, when a Belgian peasant, himself wounded, offers his cart as an ambulance for the weary shoulders

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FROM "MARIE ANTOINETTE," BY LADY YOUNGHUSBAND | REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
PHOTOGRAPHED FOR THE OUTLOOK BY H. H. MOORE

CHILDREN OF LOUIS XV—A PAINTING BY N. BELLE

The child at the right in the above picture, the Dauphin, was born in 1729 at Versailles, and strongly resembled his mother, Marie Leszczynska, the Queen, in character as well as person. Though the son of a King who was a notorious profligate, he grew up to be a conscientious and upright man. He was the father of Louis XVI, who perished on the guillotine during the French Revolution. The little girl at the left was one of the eight daughters of Louis XV and Marie Leszczynska

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The pictures on this and the opposite page might both be taken for reproductions of paintings, while the fact is that one is a photograph of a painting and the other is a photograph from life. Mrs. Kasebier's photograph of a twentieth-century child is an attempt to make a photographic counterpart of the famous portrait of "Baby Stuart" by Van Dyck. While this attempt may perhaps be regarded as a bit of pictorial by-play, it nevertheless suggests, in connection with the photographs on the following four pages, the tendency among students of photography to approximate some of the results of the painter. Not only do we find this endeavor among well-known individual photographers, whose work is to be seen from time to time in the so-called Photographic Salons, but some of our universities and other educational institutions are recognizing the possibilities of photography as an art by introducing courses of instruction along this line, and at least one summer school devotes itself distinctively to the art side of photography. These courses may appeal mainly to serious students; but every owner of a camera may begin to appreciate the finer side of the pastime of "taking pictures" by devoting a little study to the rules of composition in making his exposures, to the effects of light and shade in producing pleasing results, and to the use of different kinds of photographic papers and developers in giving "hard" or "soft" effects. Such magazines as the "Photo-Era," "The Camera," "American Photography," and "Photo-Graphic Art" may be recommended to persons interested in improving their photographic work, also the series of monographs called "The Photo-Miniature"

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A MODERN "BABY STUART"—A PHOTOGRAPH FROM LIFE BY GERTRUDE KASEBIER

See comment on preceding page, and photographs by Mrs. Kasebier and Mr. Struss on following four pages

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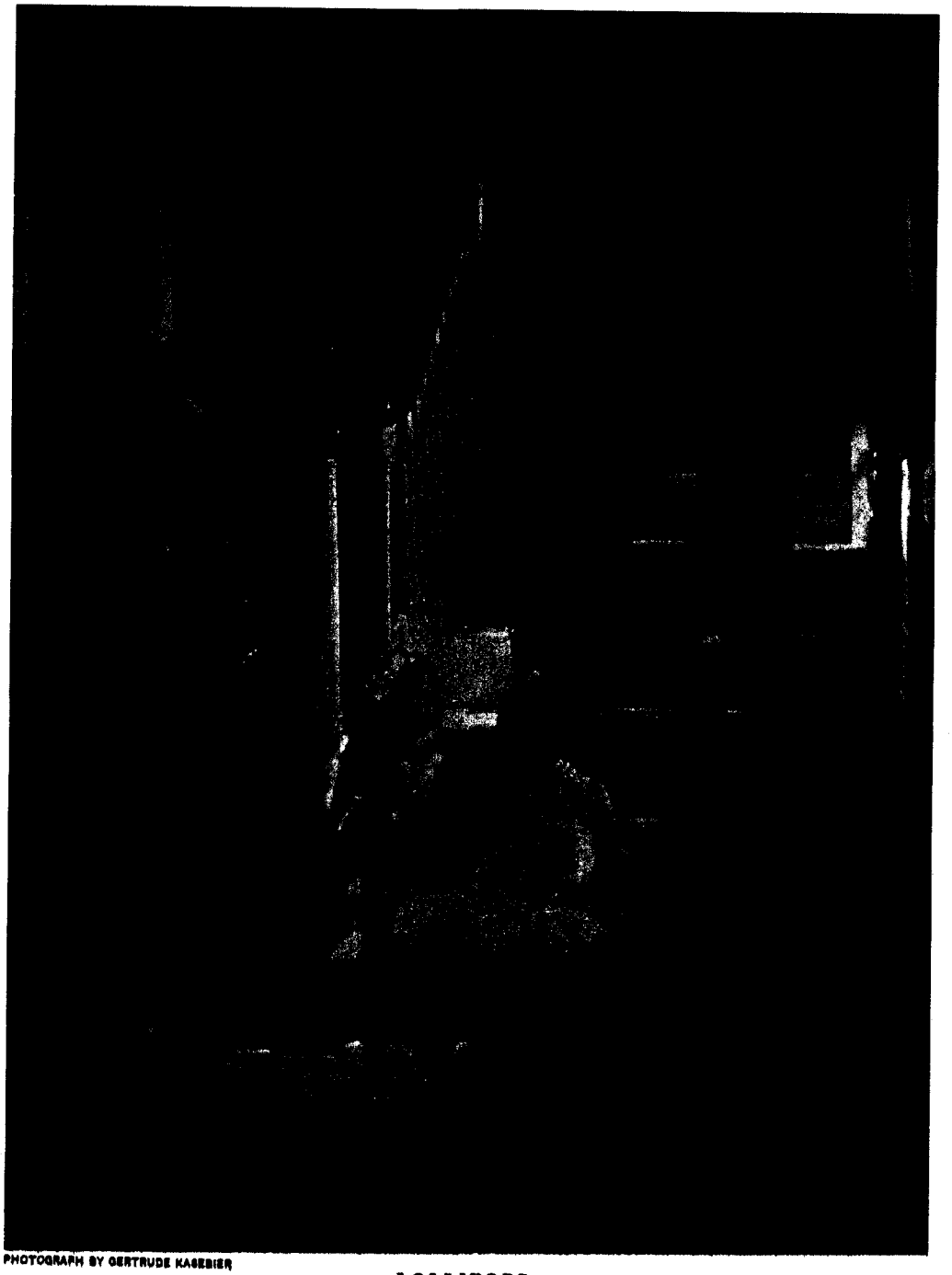

PHOTOGRAPH BY GERTRUDE KASEBIER

LOLLIPOPS

See comment on

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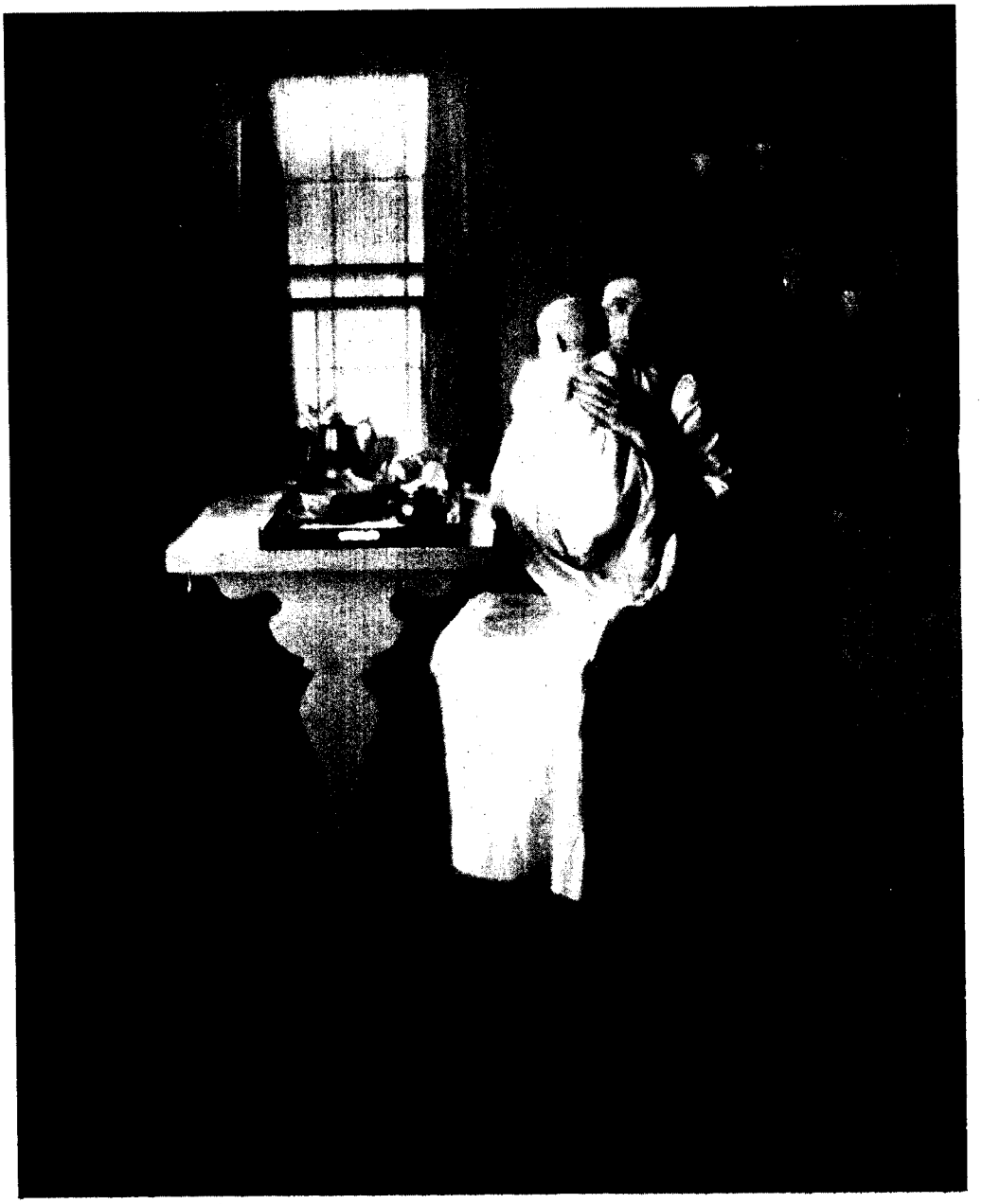

PHOTOGRAPH BY GERTRUDE KASEBIER

THE WIDOW

second page preceding

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PHOTOGRAPH BY KARL STRUSS

INTERLUDE

These pictures were exhibited in the recent Pittsburgh Salon of National Photographic Art, in Carnegie

See four

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PHOTOGRAPH BY KARL STRUSS. COPYRIGHTED.

A TEMPLE OF TRAVEL

The Pennsylvania Railroad Station in New York City

Institute, under the auspices of the Photographic Section of the Academy of Science and Art of Pittsburgh preceding pages

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A NOONDAY RELIGIOUS MEETING IN WALL STREET

Open-air meetings devoted to propaganda for many secular causes—Socialism, Single Tax, Equal Suffrage, etc.—attract crowds during the noon hour in Wall Street and in several of the public squares in New York City. Throngs also gather to listen to the message of evangelism. The above picture shows an assemblage of the latter sort—a typical crowd listening with interest to the words of an active evangelist who is familiarly and affectionately called "the Bishop of Wall Street"

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Republicans. It has struck the delegates as Wilsonian. It has ended the silence that has wrapped his judicial aloofness, and yet has failed utterly to place him in the rôle of political leader. It indicates either, as some of his critics here believe, that he misunderstood entirely what the conventions expect of a leader at this time or that he did not think of the effect of such a speech on the conventions at all. It is neither a statement nor silent reserve.

Most Republicans profess to expect the nomination of Hughes; while the Progressives and some Republicans are coolly hopeful of the nomination of Roosevelt. Yet this may change overnight.

As the conventions opened there was gloom and chill outdoors. But indoors at the Auditorium, where the Progressives met, all was warmth and cheer. When Raymond Robins, the temporary chairman, mentioned Theodore Roosevelt, a demonstration followed that lasted for an hour and a half. There could be no doubt that the Progressive delegates were a determined lot. No man could "deliver" that convention. Mr. Robins's speech was a vigorous statement of the spirit of justice and service in which the party was founded in contrast to considerations of the interest of special and separate groups, industrial or alien; a plea for preparedness, military and industrial; a tribute to Mr. Roosevelt as the one man whose voice has been heard above all the others in these days against disunion and for America; and an appeal that in this crisis the Nation should find the guidance that the old helmsman alone can supply. Many of his phrases were striking. He was constantly, in spite of his protest, interrupted with applause, especially as he urged that universal service be coupled with universal suffrage, and declared that a Nation must be worth living in to be worth dying for. The Auditorium is a big hall, but of course not as vast as the Coliseum. It is crowded with delegates on the floor and spectators on the gallery. Banners proclaim the delegates' faith in their candidate. A band furnishes the foundation for songs. My associate, Mr. Davenport, who has come into this Convention from the Coliseum where the Republicans have just adjourned, speaks of the first session of that Convention as follows: "The Republican Convention may be described as a vast mob in the Coliseum with a picture of Lincoln at one end and a band at the other. Senator Harding's speech as temporary chairman received a warm but not remarkable reception. It reads better than it sounded. There was high sentiment in it and progressive purposes announced, but much of the old attitude, as if the producers of the country were the whole people. There was little enthusiasm in the opening session. The great cheers were for Abraham Lincoln and John Paul Jones. The two conventions greatly need each other. A big part of the soul of the Republican party, the old idealistic core that made the Republican party in its beginning, seems to be in the Auditorium, the body in the Coliseum; conformity and the organization point of view in one place, nonconformity in the other. The hope of the whole situation lies in the proposed harmony conference committees from the two conventions, that the soul of idealism may animate once more the body of deadening conformity."

ERNEST H. ABBOTT.

ŒUVRE MON SOLDAT, 1915[1]

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AMONG the great number of varied sufferings caused by the present war in Europe there is one which creates peculiar sympathy because it is solely mental and moral. It is the case of the French soldiers who come from the parts of France which are now occupied by the Germans. These men were called to the colors in the early days of August, 1914. From that time to this the vast majority of them have not heard a word from the families they left behind, and they are uncertain as to the fate which has befallen their wives and children, their fathers and mothers, their brothers and sisters. The doubt is agonizing, the suspense has been almost unendurable, yet for most of these men there has been no friend to speak a word of sympathy or to show human interest. As one of them wrote from the trenches, "I had a leave of absence

[1] This phrase may be translated as "The Work called 'My Soldier.'"—THE EDITORS.

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of five days last week, but as I had nowhere to go I just stayed here."

An organization, the Œuvre mon Soldat, 1915, has undertaken to take the place, so far as such a thing is possible, of the families whom these soldiers cannot reach, and to supply these lonely men with a little sympathy and friendship. Each member of this organization is given the name and regiment of one of them, and is expected to write him two letters a month and to send him monthly a small parcel of something which will be useful to him—socks, handkerchiefs, soap, towels, any one of the hundred and one things which the Government naturally does not furnish him, but which go so far to make life comfortable. Anybody can think up a list of things which in the circumstances he himself would be glad to have, but, after all, the most valuable contribution which each member of the Œuvre can make is the intelligent friendship and sympathy which he can bestow upon the friendless soldier at the front.

These men reply to the letters which they receive from their unknown correspondents, each of whom assumes the relation of godfather or godmother to the godson. The replies at first are naturally apt to be a little constrained, as between strangers, but after a bit the correspondence warms up on both sides, and if the interest of the godfather is real the relation is apt to end by being very beautiful, for the gratitude of these heroic men is touching. One of them writes to his godfather: "I begin to dread the end of the war, because I know that I shall lose you." Any one who has established the close relationship with one of these men which so many members of the Œuvre enjoy is not likely to let the friendship drop short of the grave.

The correspondence with them develops wonderful surprises. An American godmother wrote to a soldier whose name had been given her, and received in reply a letter written entirely in German. It was from an Alsatian who had been in the German army at the outbreak of the war, and who was unable to speak a word of French. The Germans had deprived him of the language of his true fatherland, but could not deprive him of his innate love for it. He deserted from the Germans and joined the French army, and when this American lady first heard from him he was employed as a bomb-thrower in the French trenches. One day the godmother got a letter in a strange hand. It was from one of his officers, and read: "My brave grenadier often talked to me of his godmother in New York. 'If I fall, you will write to her and thank her,' he said. Alas! he did fall in bravely executing a bomb attack on the enemies' trenches."

The irrepressible French gayety shines out through all the hardships and sorrows of their lives. One American sent his soldier a collection of caricatures of the Kaiser Wilhelm. The soldier wrote back that he would take advantage of the first dark night to crawl near the German trenches and throw the caricatures into them, that he and his companions might see how the Boches would take it when they saw how their Emperor was ridiculed in America. In a subsequent letter he said: "I carried out my joke with the caricatures of the Emperor Wilhelm, but those people were so stupid that they got angry, and sent us in reply a whole series of shells from their 77s."

It is in these letters that the soul of the French *poilu* is seen naked. How splendid he is can be known only by reading what he writes. Mind you, it is not the educated, refined, cultivated Frenchman of the upper classes who writes these letters; it is the man of the people. One man of forty-five, a wool-worker, wrote his *marraine* that he had had no word since the beginning of the war from his wife, of his own age, or of his little daughter of twelve. When the godmother wrote that she would try to get him some news through the agency of a Swiss organization, he thanked her. "It would be a great happiness for me to know that my dear wife and child are in good health, and that they have not suffered too much from the Boches. As for us here, we will go on to the end, and we will make them pay dearly for all the sufferings endured by our dear ones, because for them it is too late. At Verdun they will not pass until we are all killed. We can only say, Courage and Confidence, and so far as we are concerned, we can only hope that those at the rear will work at munitions, so that these may not fail us. We ask nothing more."

It would be impossible to convey more simply the fact that this man and his comrades have devoted themselves to dying for their country, and that all they ask of their countrymen is to see that their sacrifice is not fruitless. Any one who writes French and is so minded can do something to bring light and happiness into the lives of these heroic men during the short time that many of them have to live, when they are deprived of happiness from any other quarter. Mr. Robert W. Neeser, the distinguished his-

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torian of the American navy, is the American representative of the work, and will be glad to supply inquirers with the names of soldiers and with the rather strict governmental regulations under which they may be written to. His address is 247 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The Œuvre was founded, under the patronage of the Minister de la Guerre, by Madame Philippe Bérard, and it has done a splendid work. It costs so little in money or trouble to give a great deal of happiness to the most *déshérité* element in the French army that the readers of The Outlook ought to supply enough new members of the Œuvre to take care of every member of it.

FRANK HUNTER POTTER.

New York City.

LORD KITCHENER

I—A PERSONAL IMPRESSION

BY GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM[1]

LATE BREVET MAJOR 176TH REGT., N. Y. S. VOLS.

I HAD the opportunity, in crossing the Atlantic in the spring of 1910, of securing a personal impression of Lord Kitchener, who was at that time on his way to London after an absence from England of seven years. We were fellow-passengers on the White Star steamer Oceanic, and, having had previous trips with Captain Haddock, I was placed at his table opposite to his most distinguished guest. Kitchener was at this time about sixty years of age. He had been in command of the army in India and had come into conflict with the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, in regard to the relation of the civil authority to the control of the army and to the management of problems and frictions arising on the frontier.

My first impression of the General was not entirely favorable. The figure was tall and the bearing erect and soldierly. The head was sturdy and rather bullet-shaped and the forehead was low. There was a slight divergence in the eyes, resulting in a sinister expression which doubtless did injustice to the nature of the man. The general impression given by the face was, however, not only autocratic but suggestive of a capacity for bad temper. One felt that the General would be a bad man to "come up against" in a matter of discipline or even of opinion. He had gained the reputation of being a great organizer and a stern and exacting disciplinarian. He was also noted for his aversion to titled or labeled incapacity and to "flummery" of all kinds. He was for the great part of the time reticent, having no small talk and expressing no interest in the general subjects that came up from day to day. In fact, while the ladies remained at table (we had two in a party of eight) Kitchener hardly opened his lips. I remembered having being told that he was a confirmed misogynist and that he made it a practice to refuse to place any special responsibility in the hands of a married officer if a bachelor were within reach. He took the ground that the influence or even the existence of a wife was likely to be demoralizing on the capacity either for working or for fighting.

Kitchener had come from India by way of Japan, and he had utilized his sojourn in the Far East to make a thorough study, with Marshal Oyama and his associates, of the history and topography of the Manchurian campaign. I happened to be the only other old soldier in the ship's company, and, as I had been interested in reading the several records of the Japanese War, I was able by pertinent questions and suggestions to lead the General on in a narrative that was valuable as history, and that had also a personal interest as expressing his views on the operations of modern warfare. Kitchener had a great respect for the leaders and the personnel of the army of Japan, and was of opinion that, if Japan came into antagonism

[1] Major Putnam is the head of Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, the well-known publishing house of New York and London. The foregoing sketch of Lord Kitchener is taken, with Major Putnam's permission, from the volume of autobiographical reminiscences completed last August and published by his firm last January. From the time when, in September, 1862, at the age of eighteen, he enlisted for the Civil War up to the present day Major Putnam has led a singularly active and interesting career in the fields of letters and political controversy, and has been thrown intimately with public men on both sides of the Atlantic. His memoirs, from which we quote the sketch of Lord Kitchener, form one of the most interesting of recent American biographies.—THE EDITORS.

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with the United States, we should find it difficult to defend the Pacific slope against such an invasion as could be organized. He admitted, however, that, under the present policy of the Empire, its resources would for a series of years to come be directed to, and be fully absorbed in, strengthening its position in Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria, and that the Government was discouraging migration and investments in other directions.

The General gave me one evening the benefit of a talk all to myself on the essential importance and value of war for the development and maintenance of character and manliness in the individual and in the community. He could conceive of no power or factor that could replace war as an influence to preserve man from degeneracy. He did not lose sight of the miseries and the suffering resulting from war, but he believed that the loss to mankind would be far greater from the "rottenness" of a long peace. Speaking from recent experience, he pointed out that the princes and "gentle" classes of India, who considered war as the only possible occupation (with the exception of hunting) for gentlemen, found their chief grievance against British rule in the fact that it prevented fighting throughout the peninsula. Kitchener agreed with the Indian princes in the belief that they and their noble subjects were decaying in character under the enforced idleness of the *pax Britannica*, and he sympathized keenly with their princely grievance. I suggested to the General that during the periods in which Europe had accepted most thoroughly the domination of the soldier class and the influence of the military ideal, as, for instance, during the Thirty Years' War, there had been no satisfactory development of nobility of character. He admitted this objection as pertinent, but contended that war could be carried on with methods and with standards that would preserve it as an instrument of civilization. I asked whether it would be a good thing for India if the British force, once every ten years or so, should establish a "ring fence" within which the princes might, for the purpose of keeping themselves in condition, carry on a little fighting with their own followers—a kind of twentieth-century tournament. "I could hardly take the responsibility, Major," he replied, "of formally recommending such a plan, but I am convinced that it would have many advantages."

I found the General modest enough in his utterances on matters in which he was an accepted authority, but disposed to be "cocky" in his conclusions on things of which he knew little or nothing. He had, for instance, in a seven days' trip across the "States," arrived at the belief that our educational methods in the Western States must be working serious mischief in the community. "It is evident," he remarked, "that among the results of coeducation there must be a great increase in the number of illegitimate babies!"

I understood that the Field Marshal was expected in the near future to succeed Lord Roberts in the command of the forces of the Empire, and I thought it fortunate for Britain that she had available for this responsibility a man who, while ungracious in manner and with a tendency to prejudice, possessed so much force, strength of character, and devoted patriotism, and probably also (although I realized that there had as yet been no opportunity for a full test) so much real ability as a leader of men.

II—KITCHENER AS A CIVILIZER

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT[1]

SIX years ago I passed through the Sudan and was more deeply impressed than I can well express by the extraordinary benefits secured to the natives of the country by Lord Kitchener's conquest and the administration of himself and of his lieutenant and successor, General Wingate. He rescued it from a condition of chronic slaughter and rapine under which the population had diminished by considerably more than half, and of the younger children more than nine-tenths died of disease or starvation.

The result of the conquest was to establish absolute peace and justice under the orderly reign of law. Industry flourished amazingly; slavery and the oppression of weaker tribes were completely abolished;

[1] A statement made by Mr. Roosevelt at Oyster Bay on the day Lord Kitchener's death was announced.

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schools were established everywhere. The Sudan entered upon a career of peace, prosperity, and justice which it had never before known in its history—a period which may justly be compared to the corresponding period in the history of the Philippine Islands, which, thanks to our taking possession of them, have for eighteen years enjoyed a degree of prosperity, progress, mental and physical freedom, and general well-being such as they had never even approached in all their previous history, and such as they could not in the smallest degree have attained save by our aid and supervision.

Kitchener and Wingate did in the Sudan exactly what Admiral Dewey, Governors-General Taft, Wright, Smith, Forbes, and their associates, and Generals Wood, Bell, Funston, Barry, and others like them, did for the Philippines. In each case the gain was immeasurable for the natives themselves, and was also large from the standpoint of humanity as a whole.

Taken as a whole, nothing has meant more for humanity than this work of spreading civilization over the world's waste spaces, and as a whole it has reflected the highest credit on the various nations engaged in the task. The death of Lord Kitchener, who has been so prominent in this work, illustrates in striking fashion what a lamentable and evil thing it is that these great civilized nations should now be tearing out one another's lives.

THE NATIONS AT WAR

WAR AND FINANCE AS SEEN FROM LONDON

BY GENERAL FRANCIS V. GREENE

THROUGH the courtesy of the Speaker, I sat in the front row of the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery yesterday afternoon [April 4] and for more than an hour listened to Mr. McKenna's speech on the Budget.

The speech was not intended for home consumption by constituents or newspapers one thousand miles or more away, but was addressed to the audience surrounding the speaker, in a comparatively small room—which is the House of Commons. The audience was very keen to hear what the speaker had to say, and the speaker was equally keen to gain the attention and sympathy of his audience; and he promptly did both. Within ten minutes from the time he rose every bench was crowded—about four hundred thus gaining seats. Many were standing at the gangway, and nearly a hundred Members were in the Members' Gallery. The Peers' Gallery was crowded. The Ambassadors' Gallery was empty. The Ladies' Gallery, the Strangers' Gallery, and the Public Gallery were completely filled.

It seemed to me, and it was, a directors' meeting of a colossal corporation, at which the officer corresponding to the vice-president in charge of finances was telling the directors how the corporation stood financially, what it had done during the past year, and what it expected to do during the next year.

There was no attempt at oratory, but just a plain business discussion. The speaker never lacked for a word, had none of the hesitation so frequent among speakers in the House of Commons; he had his subject thoroughly in hand, and he made a luminous exposition of it. Within a few minutes after he began he and his audience were in complete accord.

There were a good many "Oh! oh! oh's!" when he told them that he proposed an income tax of twenty-five per cent, a tax on railway tickets, and a tax on matches; but they were not disagreeable "Oh's!" and there was much laughter and good-natured chaff when he told them about his proposed tax on mineral waters (soft drinks). There were many approving "Hear, hear's!" when he proposed a tax on cinemas (moving-picture performances), which he expected to yield $25,000,000.

The House gave him its closest attention. There was no talking or shuffling of feet or moving about; and except at the moments of laughter, approval, good-natured chaff, and occasional utterances of doubt expressed

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by "Oh! oh's!" the silence was so complete that, although the speaker spoke in an ordinary tone, every word penetrated to the farthest point in the galleries.

They were certainly colossal figures which he used.

The estimated expenditures for 1916–17 are	$9,127,000,000
The estimated revenue for 1916–17 is	2,545,000,000
And the deficit to be borrowed is	$6,582,000,000
In 1915–16 the debt increased	5,155,000,000
In 1914–15 the debt increased	2,290,000,000
The pre-war debt was	3,255,000,000
	$17,282,000,000
The loans to allies and dominions will be	4,000,000,000
And the net debt of Great Britain on March 31, 1917, will be	$13,282,000,000

This is about twelve per cent of the national wealth of the United Kingdom and its dominions and colonies; about equal to their total income for six years, and to their savings available for investment for thirteen years. Only three per cent of the debt is held abroad, and the amount so held is less than half of one per cent of the total wealth.

But, while the debt will have increased about fourfold during the war if it lasts another year, the revenue derived from taxation has also correspondingly increased:

In 1913–14 the revenue was	$991,215,000
In 1914–15 "	1,351,660,000
In 1915–16 "	1,683,835,000
In 1916–17 it is estimated at	2,545,000,000

The increase in taxes for the coming year, as compared with the year just ended, is $861,000,000—almost as great as the entire taxation three years ago. Well may Mr. McKenna point out with justifiable pride that the *increased* revenue from taxation in the coming year, as compared with the year before the war, will be $1,554,000,000, while the poor German Chancellor, Dr. Helfferich, can find only an extra $120,000,000—about one-twelfth of the increased revenue of Great Britain—and even that is doubtful.

It will be noticed that the revenue for 1916–17 exceeds the revenue for 1913–14 by $1,554,000,000. It is interesting to note how these increased taxes have been raised. It is shown in the following statement. The figures for 1913–14 are not available as I write, but the official figures for the three subsequent years as given in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer are before me:

REVENUE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

	1914–15.	1915–16.	1916–17.
Customs and excise	$404,875,000	$604,080,000	$743,000,000
Estate duties, etc.	141,910,000	155,175,000	188,000,000
Stamps	37,855,000	33,820,000	
Income tax (including super-tax)	346,995,000	641,600,000	929,000,000
Excess profits duty		700,000	430,000,000
Miscellaneous	14,860,000	15,065,000	15,000,000
Total tax revenue	$946,525,000	$1,450,440,000	$2,305,000,000
Postal telegraph and telephone service	148,250,000	169,500,000	240,000,000
Receipts from Suez Canal shares and sundry loans	6,385,000	12,160,000	
Miscellaneous	32,310,000	51,735,000	
Total non-tax revenue	$186,945,000	$233,395,000	
Total	$1,133,470,000	$1,683,835,000	$2,545,000,000

These figures show that the increased taxation comes from three principal sources: the income tax, which is more than four times what it was before the war; the excess profits duty, which, although levied last year, has not as yet become payable to any considerable extent, and is thus practically a new source of revenue for 1916–17, and from which nearly one-half of the increase of the present year, as compared with the past year, was derived; and customs and excise, which includes duties levied on imports and practically all internal revenue. The excess profits duty was raised from 50 per cent to 60 per cent, and, as this has to be added to the income tax, the result is that of every $100 made in war profits $77 goes to the Government and only $23 is retained by the owner.

In foods the duty on sugar was raised one cent per pound, and it is estimated that this will bring in $35,000,000. On cocoa the duty was increased from three cents to twelve cents per pound, and on coffee and chicory from six cents to twelve cents per pound, these two items being relied upon to produce about $10,000,000 of increase. On motor cars the tax is doubled up to 16 horse-power, and trebled above that, so that a 60 horse-power car will have to pay $630 a year. The total revenue from motor cars and motor cycles is estimated at about $4,000,000, of which one-half is increase. As the streets of London are filled with placards asking people to economize in their daily expenses, and particularly to stop using motor cars, the gasoline for which must all

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come from abroad, thus injuriously affecting the foreign exchange situation, it would seem probable that this tax is levied more in the hope of prohibiting the use of motors than of providing any considerable revenue.

The entirely new taxes are on places of amusement, railway tickets, matches, and mineral waters. A tax is to be levied varying from one-eighth to one-quarter of the price of a theater ticket. Mr. McKenna estimated the revenue from this source at $25,000,000, and, as the average duty is about one-sixth of the tax, this would indicate gross receipts in the moving-picture business of about $150,000,000.

Statistics published in the United States a few months ago indicated gross receipts from "movie" theaters of about $400,000,000, or approximately about $4 per capita. Mr. McKenna's figures indicate about $3.50 per capita in the United Kingdom.

On railway tickets all single fares less than 1*s.* 6*d.* are not taxed; above that sum the tax begins at two cents, or one-ninth, and rises to six cents on a ticket of twenty-five cents, and two cents for every twenty-five cents additional. Mr. McKenna stated that he proposed this tax with some reluctance. It would produce only $15,000,000 in a total revenue of $2,545,000,000, or about six-tenths of one per cent of the entire revenue. It would seem as if a good deal of a nuisance would thus be created for a very small return. This is almost the only part of the Budget upon which there has been any serious criticism. It is intimated in several of the morning papers that this item may be withdrawn.

A new tax is also proposed on matches, amounting to about eight cents per thousand matches. As Swan Vestas—the smoker's match—are sold at one cent a box containing seventy matches, which would be about fourteen cents per thousand matches, and as the tax is to average eight cents per thousand matches, this tax, which Mr. McKenna said ought "to bring in as much as $10,000,000," is at the rate of nearly 60 per cent. At this point of Mr. McKenna's speech there was good-natured chaff from all over the House about burning his fingers. The tax will bear with great hardship upon poor people, and will probably give rise to a good deal of discussion.

Finally, a tax is proposed of eight cents a gallon "on table waters prepared with sugar or fermented" and six cents a gallon on all others. Cider and perry will bear the same charge of eight cents per gallon. Soft drinks are thus expected to contribute $10,000,000 per annum.

The principles underlying the incidence of taxes to provide this phenomenal revenue of more than $2,500,000,000 in the midst of the greatest war of all time are worthy of the most careful study, not only for the United Kingdom, but for us in America; for it is quite among the possibilities that at no distant day we may have to devise a revenue of almost equal magnitude.

In general, it would appear as if, following the trend of legislation in recent years on both sides of the Atlantic, an effort has been made to saddle the expense of the war on the rich or well-to-do and let the laboring man go almost scot-free. The income tax, the estate duties (inheritance tax), the tax on bank checks, negotiable instruments, and other taxes paid by stamps, and the excess profits duty, all fall upon the comparatively wealthy; and of the new taxes those on matches and moving-picture performances, sugar, cocoa, and soft drinks, are about all that affect the laboring man; and all of these amount only to about $80,000,000, or a little over three per cent of the total. It so happens that the laboring man is at the present moment the most prosperous person in the United Kingdom. Never before has he received such wages as he receives now. There are placards begging him to invest his money in Government funds, but, instead of doing this, he is rather inclined to squander a good part of what to him is sudden wealth. Whether the pendulum which has been swinging so long in the direction of the laboring man is to take a different direction as a result of this war is a subject much too large to be entered upon here.

How has John Bull taken this stupendous Budget? Like "Tommy" in the trenches, where he calls Ypres "Wy-pers," the big guns of the Germans "Jack Johnsons," and his own particular gun "Mother," and where his elastic spirits and good temper never fail under the most distressing circumstances, so here in the City and in the West End John Bull has taken this Budget, which is the heaviest blow to his pocket he has ever received, as if it were all in the day's work, about what he expected, and something that he will get along with "right-o!"

The "Times" is no longer *the* Thunderer, but it is still *a* Thunderer, and, at all events, all

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the Thunderer that remains under modern conditions; and the comment in the "Times" this morning says editorially that the Budget "can only be regarded with justifiable pride by all who have the maintenance of British credit at heart." In its news columns the headline is "Model Budget Speech," and in his report of the speech the writer says: "The House did not fail to appreciate the significance of Mr. McKenna's closing figures, and they were more enthusiastically applauded than anything else in his speech."

The speech and the comments upon it in different parts of the paper filled more than twelve columns, or the equivalent of two pages. There were arguments as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the tax on railway tickets, on matches, and on some other items, but as to the enormous figures there was no sign of grumbling or criticism of any sort. So with all the other papers, with the exception of the "Morning Post" and the "Daily Telegraph." These are the advocates of the new theory of Protection, which, in their view, ought to supplant the principles of Free Trade, which have been the basis of Great Britain's development for nearly a century; and these papers think that a great opportunity was missed for introducing the protective principle. But even these papers make no criticism of the size of the figures and the amount of money to be raised. The headlines are of the most cheerful character, such as: "John Bull's Purse;" "Well Able to Stand the New Taxes;" "No Serious Criticism of the Budget;" "Cheerful Taxpayers;" "Harder Hit but Still Happy;" "Strength of British Finance," and so on.

Of course there is much serious thinking about the hereafter, when interest and sinking fund, which at the close of the present fiscal year will amount to upward of $700,000,000 per annum, will have to be paid. If this vast amount of money had to come out of the United Kingdom alone, which has no undeveloped resources, it would indeed be a serious matter; but the strength of British finance lies in the dominions and colonies—Canada, Australia, and various parts of Africa, where there is still virgin land capable of supporting at the very least five hundred million people. It is as certain as anything in the future that there can be but one end to this titantic struggle, viz., the complete and overwhelming victory of the Allies. One result of this will be the annihilation of the German colonial system; another result will be some form of consolidation or federation of Great Britain and her great dominions. This will be the great question for Englishmen after the war. It has been under discussion for almost an entire generation, during which the Imperial bond between the British Isles and their dominions in the four quarters of the globe has every year been growing stronger and stronger. The problem is full of extraordinary difficulties, and in time of peace it has been impossible to surmount these difficulties. But the splendid response made by the men of English race in Canada, Australia, and Africa to the mother country in its hour of need has brought about a condition of affectionate sympathy and mutual good will, and has at the same time shown the absolute necessity of some such form of confederation, so that when the war is over these difficulties will no longer be insurmountable. With their hard, practical sense, and the experience of a thousand years in finding practical solutions of difficult political problems, this problem will also be solved.

In a word, this Budget speech reveals the unparalleled financial strength of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas." It is a mistake to suppose, as some bankers do, that wars are decided by financial considerations. Wars are decided by the hard blows struck by soldiers in the field and sailors on the high seas. We won our Revolution, although we had been hopelessly bankrupt for nearly three years before its close. The South continued to fight in the Civil War for nearly two years after it had become bankrupt. Turkey has been virtually bankrupt for nearly a hundred years, and has been making wars, sometimes successful and sometimes unsuccessful, during about one year in four of that period. On the other hand, it is equally a mistake to underestimate the influence of financial solvency upon the issue of a great war. Success in battle, on the land or on the sea, is the element of first importance, but financial credit is a close second. This record-breaking Budget was given forth on the same day that the German Chancellor made his feebly boastful speech in the Reichstag. No unprejudiced person can study these two documents without reaching the conclusion that in the matter of finances Germany is to Great Britain as a pygmy to a giant.

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LOOKING BEHIND PREPAREDNESS

BY HAROLD KELLOCK

IN the Nation-wide discussion about preparedness it seems to be assumed generally that we can guard against foreign aggression by spending a million dollars or so on a well-equipped army and a well-equipped fleet. This is a curious fallacy. The great lesson of the war, the fact that has been writ large across Europe in letters of blood and fire, is that munitions and armaments are merely incidents of preparedness. Preparedness is a far deeper and more complex problem.

An individual in a community infested with gunmen may prepare for eventualities by purchasing a pistol. But a nation in a world of aggressive nations must look to more than its guns. For the worst that war can bring it must be prepared in its agriculture, in its industries, in its transportation system, in its educational system, in its banking and currency, in the conservation of its natural resources, and, above all, in the conservation of the health and prosperity and happiness of its people. Unless a nation is so prepared it cannot stand the strain of a modern war.

If Germany had been prepared with men and guns merely, the European war would not have outlasted the first year. Before the end of that time the representatives of Russia and France and Great Britain would have been dictating their terms in Berlin. In spite of her great armies and her clever generals, in spite of submarines and Zeppelins and 42-centimeter guns, Germany, shut in from the world, must have succumbed to the starvation of her industries and her people. . . .

Unquestionably Germany is the arch-exponent of preparedness. Therefore it will be wise for us in this matter to look to and learn from Germany.

Two factors have tended to make Germany great in preparedness. One is the fact that her fundamental law emphasizes the protection and care of the individual, just as our fundamental law emphasizes the protection and care of private property. The other factor is the policy of national co-operation in industry, in agriculture, in everything that tends to promote the general well-being. While we have clung tenaciously to a policy of individualism, Germany has pursued a policy of economic co-ordination, welding her industry together in a smoothly working machine. Colonel Roosevelt's New Nationalism of a few years ago, which was so sternly rejected by our political leaders and our newspapers, merely stated in mild form certain theses of government and economics that have been accepted as truisms in Germany for over forty years.

Our own immigration statistics indicate that a great change has been taking place in Germany in the past few decades. From 1881 to 1890 we got nearly a million and a half immigrants from the German Empire. Up to the time the war began the German immigration dwindled until by 1913 it was less than fifteen thousand, or less than the immigration from Turkey. During the past decade, in fact, the number of persons who have settled permanently in Germany has exceeded the number that left her shores.

The secret of this change has been Germany's radical policy of conserving her workers. The so-called Prussian common law, promulgated by Frederick William in 1794, recognized the right of every subject to work and made it incumbent on the state to protect the poor. Bismarck made this one of the keystones of his internal policy. "Give the workingman work as long as he is healthy," he said; "assure him care when he is sick, insure him maintenance when he is old. . . . A man is entitled to say, 'Give me work,' and the state is bound to give him work." This was in 1884. It is only a few years back that unemployed workers asked a President of the United States what they could do, and his reply was, "God knows!" It is only three years ago that a man in New York City went about asking for work. The authorities gave him, not work, but a year in jail. This disposed of the man temporarily, but not the problem.

The workingman out of a job in Germany can register at the local labor exchange in any town and get work at his trade as soon as a job offers. Usually no fee is charged. The exchanges are run by the municipalities or by co-operative societies, usually with city and state appropriations. The different labor exchanges co-operate throughout the Empire. While the man is waiting for a job the exchange is his club. He can read or play games there free of charge and receive a meal, a drink, and a cigar for a few cents (in Berlin

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7½ cents). In recent years the number of jobs secured through the exchanges has been close to two million a year. In addition, in times of stress, extraordinary public improvements are started to give widespread employment. Public agricultural enterprises also provide work.

And the result? In the eight years ending with 1911 unemployment in Germany ranged from 1.1 per cent to 2.9 per cent of the wage-earning population. In New York and Massachusetts for a similar period it ranged from 6.8 per cent to 28.1 per cent. In New York City last winter, in a census taken of nearly one hundred thousand wage-earners by the Federal Government, 16.2 per cent were out of work.

Let us not suppose for a moment that the problem of unemployment is not part of the problem of preparedness. Widespread unemployment means a great influx into the ranks of tramps, drunkards, ne'er-do-wells, and petty criminals, and you cannot make good soldiers of these.

The plan of human conservation, known as workingmen's insurance, which Lloyd George was recently denounced for fathering in England and which most of our lawmakers still consider a form of Socialistic mania, has been compulsory throughout the German Empire since 1884. The workingman is insured against illness, accident, prolonged incapacity, and old age, and if he dies his widow and orphans are provided for. In cases of illness or accident he receives medical attendance and medicines, as well as half his wages. The insurance scheme embraces clerks and office employees, short contract and itinerant laborers in agriculture, workers at home, teachers, tutors, druggists, members of theatrical troupes, and orchestras. The insurance fees are divided between employers and employees, the Empire adding an amount equal to that paid by both.

While the German Government is looking after the workingmen of the present it is equally zealous for the workingmen of the future. Though Germany spends on elementary schools little more than half as much per capita of population as we do, Germany unquestionably gets more out of her school systems than we. There are districts in the United States where the children get only twelve weeks of school a year, a practice that any German rural school authorities would consider barbarous. Nowhere in the United States is there a longer school term than in New York City, where the children get nine hundred and fifty hours of school in a year. Throughout the rural districts of Germany the children get as much or more. The children in Berlin get about fifty per cent more school training in a year than the children in New York. In fact, our large cities have a shorter school day, a shorter school month, and a shorter school year than any cities of the first class in Germany, France, or Great Britain.

Moreover, the child in the German cities gets benefits from the public schools which our city authorities consider beyond their province. The German school-children are taken on long tramps and camping excursions through the country. The schools give them medical attendance and advise the parents on diet. Poor children receive a hot breakfast in school, and holiday camps are provided for those who are run down. Paternalism? Oh, yes; but it does produce a sturdy race, and one result is a minimum of juvenile delinquents. The German school system is an important foundation stone of the edifice of preparedness.

At the age of fourteen, as in our most progressive States, the youth in Germany has completed his elementary schooling. But whereas the great mass of our children get no more education whatever, the German children are still looked after by the schools. An Imperial law passed in 1900 makes it imperative for employers to grant time as prescribed by the local authorities to their workers between the ages of fourteen and eighteen to attend the continuation schools. Statistics show that in Berlin about ninety per cent of the workers of from fourteen to eighteen years are taking these courses.

The worker, grown up, still feels over him the protecting arm of Government. He may rent a house from the municipality at a price lower than that of a dark three-room tenement in New York. If he wishes to build his own home, the city will sell him the land, and the city-owned mortgage bank will let him have money on the easiest terms. If he wishes to live in the suburbs, he can commute on the state-owned railway for less than it costs to ride in the New York subway. Wherever he lives, the universal German system of taxing the unearned increment on land protects him from the high rentals consequent on the activities of the real estate speculator.

The city dweller pays about 2½ cents to ride in a street car, and precautions are taken

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to prevent overcrowding. The parcel post will bring to his home fresh country vegetables with the morning mail. He buys meats slaughtered under the strictest sanitary supervision in the municipal abattoirs. For his benefit the city is likely to own and run butcher shops, flour mills, bakeries, dairies, ice plants, restaurants, dock systems, cemeteries, stone, brick, and tile works, a pawnshop, and a fire insurance business. He may put his savings in a municipal savings bank with the knowledge that the profits above his interest will not go into the hands of a few stockholders, but be spent for the common weal. In the evening he may attend for a few cents an opera or a high-class orchestral performance in the city-owned opera-house.

Probably it would be inexpedient for American cities to attempt to emulate the remarkable system of municipal Socialism that prevails in Germany. But we have much to learn from German cities in the conservation of human welfare. A few years ago the government of the city of Schenectady, New York, determined that the high price of ice was a cause of infant mortality in the poor districts. The city built an ice plant to reduce the infant death rate, but this activity was declared unconstitutional and the ice plant had to be abandoned. In New York City it was found that bread was being made in filthy, closed cellars. A law was passed abolishing the cellar bakeries, but that also was declared unconstitutional. Obviously, the babies that die in Schenectady can never fight for their country and the consumptive workers in cellar bakeries will not make good soldiers.

If Germany successfully repels her enemies in this war, it may be an exaggeration to attribute her salvation to Friedrich List. But it is on the doctrines of this obscure economist that Germany's economic strength is founded. Co-operation and nationalization of resources were the gist of his teachings. Like a true prophet, he was without honor. Ridiculed and discouraged, he shot himself in 1846. A few years later his doctrines became the foundation of Bismarck's economic policy. As a result, in agriculture, in industry, in transportation, Germany has not been left to develop at haphazard, but these things have been stimulated and coordinated by a strong nationalistic policy.

A few generations ago Germany was a poor nation agriculturally. Her fields, impoverished by centuries of cultivation, yielded little to the struggling farmer. But the Government did not permit the farmer to fight his losing battle alone. It trained a great army of chemists to help the farmer in fertilizing his land, and it enlisted in his aid the transportation system and the banks. The consequence is that during the past thirty or forty years Germany has increased her agricultural production to an extraordinary degree and become more and more self-supporting, until, when the pinch came in the present war, she was able to feed herself without outside aid.

During the past twenty years the German farmer has virtually doubled his per acre yield in wheat, rye, oats, and barley. Our farmers are getting about as much oats and corn per acre as they did in the early seventies, and in forty years their per acre yields of wheat, rye, and barley have shown but slight increase. In agricultural efficiency we stand to-day about where Germany was a quarter of a century ago.

Our politicians like to boast that we feed the starving hordes of Europe. In reality, in the past thirty years we have changed from a food-exporting nation to a food-importing nation. From 1880 to 1884 inclusive we imported $503,000,000 worth of foodstuffs in crude condition and food animals, and our food exports amounted to $956,000,000. But in the five years ending June 30, 1914, the shoe was on the other foot. Our food imports had increased to $1.016,000,000 and our exports dropped to $642,000,000. In agriculture we have been falling steadily into unpreparedness.

We permit a chaotic system of distribution whereby the farmer gets only a third of the value of his product, the rest being swallowed up in railway charges and percentages for the multiplicity of middlemen. In some cases seven or even more middlemen successively take from the consumer's dollar before it gets to the farmer. We permit our farmers to plant and also to ship their products in ignorance of the demand for them. When they need to borrow money, our farmers must pay excessive interest rates, much higher than any of their brothers in industry.

In Germany the Government (or co-operative associations fostered by the Government) sees that the farmer gets a square deal in distribution; it provides for him expert advice on his smallest problems. The farmer with only a little patch of land can obtain co-

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operative farm machinery at a small rental; in times of stress he knows he can get special railway rates that will enable him to pull out with a profit, and, if necessary, he will receive tariff protection and even direct bounties; and if he has to borrow money on mortgage or make a short-term loan to get in his crops, an elaborate system of land bank associations assures him of easy terms. The German farmer pays between three and four per cent for his money on mortgage, and for short-term loans in the neighborhood of five per cent. The American farmer who can obtain a loan for less than twice the amount charged in Germany is in luck.

The sugar situation in Great Britain and Germany since the war furnishes an interesting side-light on preparedness. Germany, by means of high import duties on sugar, by export bounties and subsidies for chemical research, has built up her beet-sugar industry until she is the foremost sugar-producing country in the world. Great Britain, though she possesses in British India the best cane-sugar lands in the world, has become dependent for this necessity on the German beet factories. Since the war there has been no appreciable rise in the price of sugar in Berlin or Vienna. But almost as soon as war was declared London housewives found themselves paying ten and fifteen cents a pound for sugar, and these famine prices continued for several months. In the first half-year of war England's unpreparedness in sugar alone must have cost her people a hundred million dollars.

In the case of our own struggling sugar industry the attitude of our Government has been one of curious detachment, and to-day we are dependent in large measure on foreign-grown sugar. If our ports were blockaded against Cuban sugar, we should find ourselves in a sorry plight. The cane-fields of Louisiana and the beet-fields of the West provide less than a quarter of our supply. The Underwood Tariff Law contained a provision gradually abolishing all tariff duties on sugar. Though this law presaged the certain ruin of the Louisiana industry and promised to end the development of the sugar beet industry, the Administration took the position that an industry that could not stand on its own feet was better dead. If the German Government had reasoned thus, Great Britain would probably have won the war easily on sugar alone. Last fall the Administration announced that the free sugar plan would be dropped, not because the war had taught us that home-grown sugar was a large item of preparedness, but because the Government needed the revenue.

The transportation policy of Germany has been a big factor in the preparedness of her agriculture and her industry. "The railways," said Bismarck, "are intended rather to serve the requirements of trade than to earn a profit for their owners." This radical utterance, made forty years ago, has since been the keynote of German policy. Since 1884 the Government has had virtually a monopoly of railway ownership. The railways have been developed to meet the needs of trade, and along with them a system of inland waterways has been built up which is a model for the world. Special rates are granted for new industries and for the export trade and for imported raw materials for German factories; but the foreign manufacturer who sends his goods into Germany must pay more for transportation than his German competitor. During the past thirty years the railway capitalization cost per mile has actually been reduced. The roads are run on a net profit of more than six per cent on actual cost. In fact, save for a slight annual loss on the waterways, all German governmental businesses are run at a profit. In the German states nearly forty per cent of all Government financial requirements are defrayed by profits from state enterprises.

Largely because Germany has solved her railway problem she has risen to the first rank as a manufacturing nation and wonderfully increased her agricultural wealth. During a period when British exports have scarcely more than doubled hers have increased fivefold.

Our own railway problem is a long way from being solved. We have, it is true, evolved a cumbersome rate-fixing system that may be worked out to serve the needs of trade. But reckless manipulators may still prey upon our railways. The managers of our transcontinental lines still find themselves tied to totally different, often contradictory regulations in different States. Our laws tend to restrict the railways to small, competing units even when these units logically should unite in one co-operative machine. Too often the policy of the railways is to exact the highest rates from the manufacturer and the farmer rather than to encourage production by co-operating with them. The rebate and the special rate, which

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have been found so useful in building up industry in Germany, are forbidden by our laws. Among our roads bankruptcy has grown so common that it is estimated that one-sixth of our railway mileage is operated under receivers.

Similarly our Governmental policy in respect to big business combinations has been a hindrance rather than a help. Though there is no doubt that the so-called trust is a necessary and useful, indeed an inevitable, economic development, both of our leading political parties have been consistently anti-trust. Indeed, the leaders of the party at present in power have idealized a nation of little competing factories and little competing shops.

Back in the eighties, when increased facilities for transportation and communication had started the movement toward industrial combination, this tendency was investigated both in Germany and the United States. The German Government decided on a policy of watchful encouragement. Our lawmakers gave us the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

In this country a condition of anarchic competition prevailed in the petroleum business. The rise of the Standard Oil Company put an end to the wasteful squabbles and established an American business as a great factor in international trade. But for years our Government fought the great oil combination, and finally succeeded in having it nominally dissolved into thirty-odd parts. The intention at least was to restore competition in the industry.

The potash industry in Germany suffered from competitive conditions similar to those in the oil business here. The German Government actually ordered the warring units to combine. The terms of the combination were fixed by law, the amount of production regulated in accordance with the best interests of the industry as a whole, and maximum prices fixed for the domestic market. Critics of the Standard Oil Company have complained that it did not play fair. The German Government saw to it that the great potash combination did play fair. It recognized the value of big business in the potash industry, and the result has been that that industry has carried one foreign market after another.

"To overthrow syndicates would be to destroy the ability of our country to compete abroad," said the Prussian Minister of Commerce a decade ago. Our Government has persisted in attempting to overthrow our syndicates or trusts. There is the case of the Harvester Trust, formed primarily to capture foreign trade. After ten years of activity the Harvester Company was compelled to face a suit for dissolution. Though it was proved that the company had been conspicuously fair to competitors and to its labor, that its stock was not watered, and that it was selling a greatly improved product at virtually no advance in price, the United States District Court ordered it dissolved because in certain products it controlled eighty-five per cent of the output.

If this is our final solution of the trust problem, in spite of American business enterprise and the technical efficiency of our factories, Germany will drive us from the markets of the world. A lot of little squabbling domestic businesses cannot hold foreign markets against a single great co-ordinated enterprise, any more than a lot of little squabbling domestic armies can withstand a single great army. Our business men in foreign trade have often remarked that their German competitors seemed to have not only a business but a nation behind them.

If we are to take up preparedness seriously, we must go to the root of the matter and devise means for National co-operation. We may not wish to emulate Germany's Government ownership of transportation, but we must think of our railways less in terms of dividends and more as servants of trade. We may not wish to go in for Germany's municipal Socialism, but we must look upon our cities less as profitable fields for real estate speculators and public service corporations and more as dwelling-places for human beings. We must consider our wheat-fields, not in terms of how large a percentage the banker, the railway, and the middleman may exact from them, but in terms of loaves of bread. We must find statesmen who are capable of thinking in terms of the Nation instead of in terms of little localities, of little businesses, of little political advantages. We must test time-honored theories in the light of modernity, and, if necessary, adopt new theories to square with new facts. If necessary, in our Government system of checks and balances we must abolish some of the checks.

What the war has demonstrated is simply this: That nation is best prepared for war which is best prepared for peace.

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THE JOB OF LANDING A JOB

BY JOHN R. COLTER

"IT is a mighty unfortunate thing," said a New York business man to me the other day, "that the art of landing a job has not been developed more fully than it has. You would think that with one-fifth of the workers of the land idle a good deal of the time, and therefore presumably looking for jobs, and with nearly every other man of us, from $50,000 a year men down to $10 a week clerks, nosing around for the *better* job—you would think that some one would systematize and distribute broadcast the best-known methods and manners of looking for a job. But I've never seen such an attempt."

I came back with the answer that usually starts men talking—a request for advice. What he told me, properly applied, would put thousands of men in jobs—and better jobs.

"Tell me how to go about landing the job I want to. What is the secret of success in getting work?" I asked.

"Well," he said, "first let me tell you a little story. A friend of mine had urged me to come and call on him, so I went the other day. My ring was answered by a blue-eyed servant girl, evidently a recent immigrant.

"'They aren't in,' she said.

"I asked her when my friend and his wife would be in, and she answered:

"'I don't know.'

"'Do you expect them back to-day? Where did they go?' I asked.

"'I don't know.'

"'Well,' I said, 'I thought you might. Who are you, please?'

"'Oh, *I'm nobody*,' she replied, simply; '*I just work here.*'

"Now, the girl's stupidity is incidental. But it's worth telling of for this reason: her attitude of mind was most beautifully expressed by the phrase that she coined. She wasn't anybody; she just *worked* there! That, in my opinion, is precisely the attitude of ninety men out of a hundred that go looking for jobs. It is the state of mind that keeps so many job-holders from landing the new job and prevents the unemployed from getting any work at all. They are not anybody; they just want a job. Your job-seeker may not say it in so many words, but by his very lack of aggressiveness he exhales it or somehow manages to wireless it direct to the brain of his possible employer. The first thing I would say to a man who was looking for work would be: 'Be somebody. Act proudly and with dignity. Don't act as if you were asking a favor.'

"Here is an example of what I mean. A young man came into my office the other day with a letter of introduction. It set forth from a friend of mine that the bearer was young, reputable, of good family, willing to work, and undeniably honest. He had just graduated from college and didn't know what he wanted to do. All he knew was that he wanted a job. As I expected, I had to start the conversation myself and pry all the details of his abilities out of him. I had to dig out his strong points and particular interests—he volunteered nothing. He didn't know anything about the shoe business, never took the initiative to tell me what he thought about our advertising (everybody reads it). I asked him what he thought of our shoes. He had worn them recently and said he "liked them very much." He was pleasant, agreeable, and I knew he would be willing to work faithfully—but I didn't want him or his kind. They never *start anything.* Some one had given him a letter to me; he wanted a job; he thought I could give him a "job;" therefore he was there in my office chair, and what did I have to offer him, please? Ye gods!

"Later I met his mother at a reception. She bewailed the fact that her Charlie couldn't find work—after having a college education, too. What a terrible thing the war was—it even shortened the labor demand here in the United States!

"The real trouble lay, not in Mars, but in her Charlie's own self. First, he had the wrong idea of what a job is. He conceived it to be something to be *filled*—a pigeonhole, a desk, a chair, or, as the London clerks call it, a 'berth.' It was a niche, in his mind, with a salary attached. And if he considered himself as a salesman of his own services at all, it was simply a matter of selling his time, his presence between fixed hours, or his motions in a certain spot for a stated length of time. Whereas—and here is the most important thing I can tell you—he should have offered, presented, exhibited, and dangled before the eyes of me, the buyer of labor, his interest in my business. Interest in the employer's business is the key to the favorable attention

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of every employer. I assume that you are in earnest when you come looking for a job. What interests me more than anything else? Not your abilities in general, but your abilities as far as my business is concerned. If young Charlie Briggs had looked at me with a gleam of intelligence and pulled out of his pocket some of our daily paper ads and said, 'I liked these all but one thing,' etc., don't you suppose I would instantly take an interest in him? Give the man *your* ideas of what you have found true of shoes, what you and your friends like about a shoe. If you are looking for a railway job, learn all you can about the particular railway, think about it, sleep over the thoughts, and come down to ask for a job with at least one sane, original sentence that you can deliver on the subject of railways.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that a great many of the good executive positions in the country to-day have been acquired only by scientific stalking. I mean that a scientific approach of a job usually lands it. Merely to state your age, experience, and past successes will not land you many worthwhile jobs nowadays. The men who make a study of the prospective employer's business, his particular needs, and who present some original thoughts on some phase of the business are the successful job hunters of to-day.

"The reason for this, of course, is that initiative is now at a higher premium in the business world than ever before."

"Why so?" I asked him. And for answer he took from his desk a statement of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

"One big reason is competition. There are more fellows in every kind of money-making game. Note this: in 1900—these are the latest figures available on unemployment—there were approximately six and a half million persons out of jobs during the year. That is twenty-two per cent of the total number of workers in the United States, which was then thirty-odd millions.

"A Western transportation man told me the other day—he hires hundreds of men each year, most of them above twenty dollars a week—that, in his opinion, honesty, willingness to work, and the rest of the galaxy were pretty nearly demanded of a man before he even was considered as a candidate for the modern job.

"I give these qualities only fifty per cent all together. I count them no particular asset. They are essential, of course, but they are not what distinguish men. The other fifty per cent can be had only by the exhibition of initiative.

"You have probably no idea to what pains and trouble some successful men go for the purpose of landing a job with a certain desirable firm. They literally compel a good offer. My sales chief worked on me for six months before I gave him his job. He first came to me with a carefully worked out direct-to-consumer campaign in footwear and suggested that I look it over. I was rather young then myself, and stalking a job was a new thing to me. I told him it was good and complimented him on his initiative. Thereby he had commanded my attention. Well, I couldn't place him then, but he persisted in sending me in ideas, ideas, ideas. Sometimes they would be without any word of comment. Finally he gathered them all together—the carbon copies—and came into my office.

"'Mr. Wilkins,' he said, 'I've been sending you a lot of ideas lately. I *know* something about the shoe business. I think I can work out a lot of things that will be very valuable to you. Will you give me some data that I need to do it? Frankly, Iam bent on getting a job with you, and I guess it is up to me to make myself necessary to your organization.'

"He even offered to come and work for nothing for a month, to prove what he meant. Well, when he went out of my office he had my contract in his pocket. In the last twelve years he has pushed his salary up to five times what it was. But men like him are rare.

"As I said, what an employer values most in a man is initiative. There is no better way of proving that you have it than by exhibiting it in your method of seeking the job. You have had training? You have had so many years of experience? You have been with this concern and that? You have degrees? Well, what of it? It is not persuasive, it does not convince. Life's short. Take the short cut. What can you mean to the man if you do work for him? How will he profit by your abilities? Make an effort to show him this, in direct application to his business, and you automatically lift yourself out of the level of competitors.

"And if doing this means hard, investigating work in the public library, among technical papers, or studying of correspondence school text-books to get a working knowledge of some particular business, don't grudge the time. The harder you work to land a job, the better job it will be."

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BY THE WAY

English nerves would seem to be on edge in these times if this incident, vouched for by a reader of The Outlook, is at all typical: "Recently in a London restaurant the waitress who brought me my coffee and toast refused to bring the remainder of my breakfast because I had not thanked her!—although I had placed sixpence as a tip near my plate. The head-waiter, who was one of the proprietors, then served me—with the result that a strike and walkout of all the dining-room servants ensued." Most Americans in Great Britain in ante-bellum days have been at times embarrassed by the continual "Thanks!" of the waiters and clerks. The worm must have turned completely over!

The beginnings of the Saturday half-holiday might be traced to an old-time custom among Southern planters. "On Saturdays," says Professor Sanford in "The Story of Agriculture," "for either the whole or a part of the day, the slaves were released from field work. . . . In many cases they used this time and Sundays in which to earn money for themselves by hiring out and doing odd jobs. There were many instances in which slaves purchased their freedom and that of their families with money earned in this way."

In summer time, says "Good Health," do not have more cooking done than is necessary. And it adds this suggestion, which should probably be taken, notwithstanding its inhibition, "with a grain of salt:" "Green corn, straight from the garden, is delicious. No butter, salt, pepper, or cooking is needed."

A list of famous men and of books that have influenced them is given in a little volume called "Reaching the Children," by H. C. Krebs, as follows: Luther, the Life of John Huss; Loyola, the "Lives of the Saints;" Franklin, Cotton Mather's "Essays to Do Good;" Lincoln, Fox's "Book of Martyrs," "Pilgrim's Progress," Æsop's Fables; Henry Ward Beecher, the works of John Ruskin; Napoleon, Webster, Emerson, and Gladstone, "Plutarch's Lives."

A high school girl was constantly in trouble with her teachers, the above-mentioned book relates; the girl was finally sent to the principal, who found her reasonable and told her that if she would go back to her class and try to make amends, he would be satisfied and not even inquire what she did. The student agreed and there was no more trouble between her and the teacher. The incident is a pleasant one, but the friend who calls attention to it says that in her own experience a boy who afterwards became famous was sent to the school principal under similar circumstances, and on returning to the class actually tried to get his teacher to apologize for sending him to the principal!

France is renewing her railways while fighting for her life. An American company has received orders from the French Government for 80,000 tons of steel rails.

One of the most noted of the minor leaders of the Civil War, Colonel John S. Mosby, passed off the earthly stage, fittingly enough, it seems, on Memorial Day, an occasion when all Northern hearts, at least, recur to the scenes of the war between the States. One of the stories told of this remarkable guerrilla leader was that for twenty years he had not attended any reunion of Confederate veterans. He had fainted at the last reunion he attended, and henceforth refused invitations to these gatherings of survivors of the "lost cause."

"At our house," says a humorist in the New York "Sun," "we usually have on the table plain, substantial food. When company comes, we have a great variety of stuff almost sure to cause indigestion. Also in honor of our guests our regular towels, made to absorb, are superseded by a highly calendered fabric that will take up moisture about like a piece of tin. Can't we men get together?"

A Chicago firm preaches this short and effective temperance sermon: "We do not allow any liquor on the premises, discharge immediately any man under the influence, preach abstinence through foremen and bulletin-board literature, and we are succeeding famously. Our men also see the good of it."

Among freak bets the wager of a Seattle man deserves a place in the first rank. He bet $20,000, the story goes, that Patrick Harmon could not walk backward from Seattle to New York in 260 days. At any rate, Patrick appeared the other day in the New York City Hall and asked an official to confirm his presence there. He was walking backward and had an accompanying witness who had made the journey with him—facing forward, however. They had taken only 239 days to perform the feat.

The names of familiar things often escape the memory when one tries to recall them in a foreign language; an exchange illustrates the fact by the attempt of a Frenchman to order eggs for his breakfast in an English restaurant: "Vaiterre," he said, "vat is dat valking in the yard?" "A rooster, sir." "Ah! and vat you call de rooster's wife?" "The hen, sir." "And vat you call de childrens of a rooster and his vife?" "Chickens, sir." "But vat you call de chicken before dey are chicken?" "Eggs, sir." "Ah-h! Bring me two."

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